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# A Fragment of the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*: A Critical Edition of the Leaves Contained in Cambridge University Library Or.158.1

**Abstract:** The core of the paper consists of the *editio princeps* of a long fragment of the Sanskrit text of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, one of the earliest Buddhist Yoginītantras, preserved in a manuscript of the Cambridge University Library (MS Or.158.1). The introduction contains information on the text and on its translation and commentaries, as well a description of the manuscript used, a description of the linguistic and stylistic features of the work, and a detailed synopsis of its contents. When necessary, references to the unpublished commentary by Śrībhānu are given in the notes of the critical apparatus.

## 1 Introductory remarks

### 1.1 The *Vajrāmṛta*

The *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra* (aka *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, or simply *Vajrāmṛta*) is one of the main and earliest Buddhist Yoginītantras, probably datable to between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This text, translated into Tibetan by Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer (10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> cent.), has apparently survived in only two Sanskrit manuscripts: 1) a complete manuscript of the work that was seen by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at the Ġwa-lu monastery (Central Tibet) in 1934, and 2) a fragment kept in the Cambridge University Library, which was identified by Harunaga Isaacson in 1997 in the manuscript labelled 'Or.158'.

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I read sections 1, 8, and 10 of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* during two seminars held in Cambridge in 2014 (January and June). I owe my sincerest thanks to my friend Vincenzo Vergiani, who kindly invited me there and organized these reading sessions, and to all those who attended and provided useful suggestions and insights, in particular (in alphabetical order): Daniele Cuneo, Elisa Ganser, Camillo Formigatti, Marco Franceschini, Malhar Kulkarni, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Vincent Tournier. I also thank Florinda De Simini, Harunaga Isaacson, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Ryugen Tanemura, who have read this paper and suggested several improvements. Kristen De Joseph has kindly revised the English.

Unfortunately, the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra* does not appear among Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographic negatives of Sanskrit manuscripts and, to the best of my knowledge, there are no records of the original manuscript he briefly described<sup>1</sup> in any of the published catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts. The leaves belonging to this important text that are kept in Cambridge enable us to study approximately one half of the work in its original language.<sup>2</sup> Or.158 is in fact not complete, although at first look the numbers of the leaves appear to be in the right sequence, and the manuscript ends with a colophon consisting of a metrical line and the date. For more details on the codicological features of this manuscript, see § 2 below.

The sole chapters that are entirely extant are the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, while chapters 2 to 3 are missing. The remaining chapters are only partially preserved: only one-third of the first chapter has survived, along with the second half of the fourth chapter. However, in the latter case, we can restore some of the missing stanzas with the help of quotations found in later works, so that the text that is actually lost only amounts to the first third of the chapter. Of a total of 21 stanzas, only two verses and one *pāda* from the fifth chapter are extant; the sixth chapter lacks the five initial stanzas. About one half of the text of the seventh chapter survives, including three stanzas that are available through quotations, while the eighth chapter has lost the first four stanzas.

The *Vajrāmṛta* must certainly have enjoyed some popularity, although it was less influential than other Yoginītantras, such as, primarily, the *Hevajratantra*, which was likely produced later. Of special importance must have been the fourth chapter, entitled *Homavidhinirdeśa*, considering that Bhūvācārya, the author of the still-unpublished *Samvarodayā nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* (early 11<sup>th</sup> cent.?), refers to this work as one of the authoritative sources for the practice of the *homa* ritual,<sup>3</sup> and that several verses from its fourth *nirdeśa* are quoted in the *Śuklakuṛukullāsādhana* (= *Sāadhanamālā* No. 180).<sup>4</sup>

The earliest quotations from the *Vajrāmṛta* can be found in works of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The *Pradīpoddyotana* — the famous commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*—

1 Cf. Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935, 30, No. X.3.32: 'Vajrāmṛtatantra [script:] *vartula* [leaves:] 8 complete'.

2 The entire text consists of c. 260 stanzas (*anuṣṭubh*) divided into 11 chapters; note that some verses contain six *pādas* and a few, apparently, five (see e.g. 9.6).

3 In the *bāhyādhyātmahomavidhiḥ*, the eleventh chapter of this work, he writes: *vajrāmṛtādim āśrītya bāhyahomaṃ samācaret* (st. 600cd, fol. 43r<sub>4</sub>), that is: '[The practitioner] should perform the external sacrifice on the basis of the *Vajrāmṛta* and other [sources]'.

4 Cf. *Sāadhanamālā*, pp. 368–370. Stanzas 13–21, 23–24 of chapter 4 are quoted with some different readings and introduced with the word *apare*.

5 Further references to the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* in ancient lists are discussed in Szántó 2012, 37, 39.

*tantra*, composed by the tantric Candrakīrti — is perhaps the earliest source to quote the *Vajrāmṛta*, and contains the following two citations: 1) one from the first chapter: *amṛtaṃ śukraṃ ity uktam tatprasūtaṃ jagattrayaṃ ||* (st. 6ef) (*Dhīh* 49: 130), which is also quoted in the *Catuṣpīṭhapañjikā* of Kalyāṇavarman (first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> cent.),<sup>6</sup> and in Muniśrībhadrā's *Yogīmanoharā*, attributed simply to a 'tantra' (p. 41); and 2) a further one from the third chapter: *svāhākāras tu māmakyāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyiketi<sup>7</sup> vajrāmṛte vacanāt* (ed. Chakravarti p. 149).<sup>8</sup> Stanza 7.15 is cited at least twice: by Ratnākaraśānti (11<sup>th</sup> cent.) in his *Guṇavati* (ed. p. 18), together with stanzas 13 to 14 of the same chapter, and, with only a small change (i.e. *devi* for *devo* in *pāda a*), by Rāmapāla (11<sup>th</sup> cent.) in the *Sekānirdeśapāñjikā* (ad st. 22, ed. p. 185).

The Tibetan translations of three Sanskrit commentaries on this tantra survive in the bsTan 'gyur. These commentaries are the short *Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i dka' 'grel*) by Vimalabhadra (Dri med bzañ po) (Öta. 2521/Tōh. 1649), the *\*Vajrāmṛtatāntaṭṭikā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi bśad pa*) by \*Guṇabhadra (Yon tan bzañ po) (Öta. 2522/Tōh. 1650), and the *Vajrāmṛtamahātāntarājaṭṭikā Amṛtadhārā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel*) by Śrībhānu (Öta. 2523/Tōh. 1651).<sup>9</sup> The first and third commentaries are also extant in the original Sanskrit, but remain unpublished. The *Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* is preserved in a manuscript that was kept at Żwa-lu at least until the 1990s,<sup>10</sup> whereas

6 Cf. fol. 33r, introduced with the words *tathā cōktam*.

7 Read *pradāyaka iti* ?

8 This line corresponds to st. 3.20ab: *swā hā yi ge mñam par ldan || dños grub thams cad rab sbyin rñams ||* (cf. D fol. 20r<sub>4</sub>), which could be retranslated as *\*svāhākārasamāyuktāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyakāḥ*, with a clear difference in the reading of *pāda a*. This reading is in agreement with the Tibetan version of Vimalabhadra's *pañjikā*: *svā hā'i yi ge mñam ldan pa* (cf. D fol. 10r<sub>3</sub>), and with the Tibetan translation of \*Guṇabhadra's commentary, where *pāda a* is rendered and explained by the following words: *svā hā'i yi ge rnam par ldan || źes pa ni || mtha' ma ni yi ge svā hā dan ldan pa'o ||* (cf. D fol. 34v<sub>4-5</sub>). As to be expected, the Tibetan translation of the *Pradīpodyotana* is instead closer to Candrakīrti's reading of the quotation (*yi ge svā hā mā ma kī'i || dños grub thams cad rab ster ba'o ||*, cit. in Ōmi 2013, 149 [18]).

9 Note that in the Öta. and Tōh. catalogues, the name of this master is wrongly given as Bhago.

10 'Dge 'dun chos 'phel, Works (1990), vol. 1, p. 18 lists an Indian manuscript at Zha lu, although he gives the author as Vimalaprabha' (Martin 2014, s.v. \*Vimalabhadra [Dri med bzang po]). This manuscript is likely the one that was seen and briefly described by R. Sāṅkrtyāyana in July 1936 (1937: 45, Nos XXXV.7.303: 'Vajrāmṛtatāntapañjikā [author:] Vimalabhadra [leaves:] 7 [lines:] 7 complete'). Of this work, Sāṅkrtyāyana also transcribes the initial stanza (one *śārdūlavikrīḍita*) and the two last verses (one *puṣpitaḡrā* and one *anuṣṭubh*) with the colophon (see footnote 3). These lines are reproduced here with slight changes (the main differences are pointed out in notes a and b):

Beginning — *yo vidhvastasamastavastuvimalajñānodayānākulaḥ*

a palm-leaf manuscript (34 fols) containing the longer *Amṛtadhārā* is still preserved in the Nor bu gliñ kha.<sup>11</sup> As far as we know at present, the commentary by \*Guṇabhadra is only available in Tibetan.

Fortunately, a photographic reproduction of the manuscript containing the *Amṛtadhārā* — which, among the three commentaries, seems to be the only one quoted elsewhere<sup>12</sup> — is also kept in Beijing, in the library of the China Tibetology Research Centre (henceforth: CTRC) in box 50, text No. 2.<sup>13</sup> In 2014 I was allowed to transcribe it entirely within a project of cooperation that was initiated a few years ago between the CTRC and my institution, the University of Naples “L’Orientale”. A critical edition of this work will be published in the series *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*. For issues related to the doctrines and the practices described in the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* I refer the reader to the introduction to this forthcoming book. Suffice it to say that Jishō Ōmi, the only scholar who has published specific studies on the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* and its commentaries so far (cf. Ōmi 2013, 2014), has shown, on the basis of some quotations from the work and its Tibetan translation, that the system of practices described in the text closely resembles the teachings of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, whereas at a theoretical level it is close to the *Mahāmāyātāntra* and the Yogācāra.

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prajñopāyamahākṛpāsamarasād<sup>a</sup> eko dvayor<sup>b</sup> dyotate |  
 māmakyādikaṭākṣaṣaṭpadagaṇair ādṛṣṭavaktrāmbujas  
 taṃ natvā paramaṃ sukhaṃ jinamayam vajrāmṛtaṃ likhyate ||

End — iti likhitam anantatantragarbhaṃ

paramasukhādvayabuddhisiddhihetoh |  
 guṇiṣu vimalabhadranāmna etad  
 yadi ruciraṃ priyam astu naḥ kṣamantām ||  
 anuṣṭupchandasā caitad gaṇyamānaṃ catuḥṣaṭam |  
 ślokaīḥ katipayair yuktaṃ vajrāmṛtanibandhanam ||

Colophon — śrīvajrāmṛtapañjikā samāptā || kṛtir iyaṃ ācāryavimalabhadrapādānām |

likhāpīteyaṃ pustikā pañḍitajinaśrīmitreṇa ||

<sup>a</sup> °mahākṛpā° em. supported by the Tibetan trans. (D fol. 1r: thugs rje chen po) ] °matā kṛpā Sāṅkṛtyāyana

<sup>b</sup> dvayor em. (Isaacson) ] dvayo° Sāṅkṛtyāyana

11 Sandhak, p. 29 (cf. also Luo 1985, 48).

12 Passages of Śrībhānu’s commentary have been embedded in the *Samputatantra* 7.4 (cf. Szántó 2016, 414–415).

13 Sandhak, p. 29 (cf. also Luo 1985, 48).

## 1.2. UL Or.158

An online description of the manuscript Or.158, along with high-quality colour reproductions of its leaves, is available on the website of the University of Cambridge Digital Library (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00158-00001/6>), to which I refer the reader for further details. The following information is to be considered an integration of what is already available there.

Firstly, we observe that Or.158 consists of 12 palm leaves from two different texts, both fragmentary: one containing parts of the *Vajrāmṛta* (Or.158.1) and the other one containing parts of the *Buddhakapāla* (Or.158.2), another important Yoginītantra, so far published only partially (cf. Luo 2010). Leaves of the two works have been mingled according to an apparently correct sequence of folio numbers:<sup>14</sup> parts of the *Vajrāmṛta* survive in fols 1v, 6, 8 and 10 to 12,<sup>15</sup> whereas fragments of the *Buddhakapāla* are found in fols 2 to 5, 7 and 9.<sup>16</sup> Due to reasons that we cannot ascertain, at a certain point in the tradition, someone wrongly combined the leaves of the two texts, mistaking them for parts of the same work/manuscript. This mistake was possible due to a substantial homogeneity of the two sources: the ductus of the script is identical, as are the quality and shape of the leaves comprising the *Vajrāmṛta* and the *Buddhakapāla*. Moreover, each leaf contains six lines, one string hole, two writing areas of which the left one is smaller than the right one, and on average 64 to 65 *akṣaras* per line. One hypothesis concerning the formation of Or.158 could thus be that its two sections were part of two originally separated manuscripts, but were produced by the same scribe or at least in the same scriptorium.<sup>17</sup>

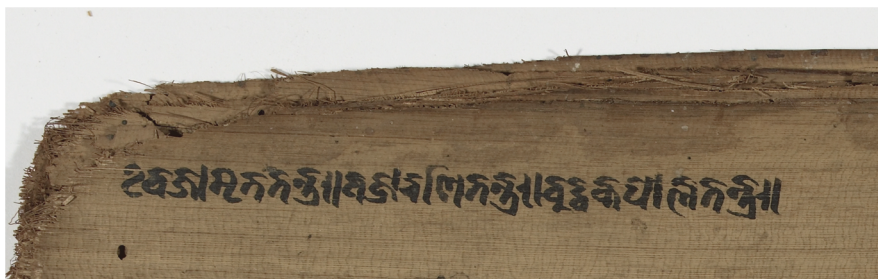
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**14** Folio numbers appear on both the left and right margins of each *verso* (figure numerals are on the left, letter numerals are on the right), but seem to belong to different hands. Cf. e.g. leaves 3, 8, and 9, where the difference in the ductus is significant; the number 6 to the right is even written in Arabic numerals, perhaps in pencil, a bit higher than usual, clearly because the number was added when the margin was already damaged; the numbers in the left margin look older and may be the original ones.

**15** In particular: chapters 1 (partial), 4 (partial), 5 (partial), 6 (partial), 7 (partial), 8 (partial) and 9 to 11 (complete).

**16** These leaves include parts of chapters 1 to 3 (cf. also Luo 2010, XLVIII).

**17** See also Szántó's contribution in this volume.



**Fig. 1:** Or.158, fol. 1r. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Another possibility, and a highly probable one, is that Or.158 is what remains of an original multiple-text manuscript (MTM), with independent foliation for each work. Besides the *Vajrāmṛta* and the *Buddhakapāla*, this manuscript would also contain at least a third work, namely the *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja*. There is in fact no doubt that, already at an early stage, this manuscript transmitted the three texts together. Proof is given by the short list of contents added by a different hand to the top left side of fol. 1r. There we read: (siddham sign) *vajrāmṛtatantra* || *vajrāraṇitantra*<sup>18</sup> || *buddhakapālatantra* || (see the image above).<sup>19</sup>

MTMs with independent foliation for each block are frequent and it is not at all sure that the sequence of works we find on fol. 1r (1. *Vajrāmṛta*; 2. *Vajrārali*, which likely included also the *Rigyārali* (aka *Rigyaralli*);<sup>20</sup> 3. *Buddhakapāla*) reflects the original sequence at the time of the production of the manuscript. Sections of MTMs were temporarily used as independent works, for studying, copying, etc., and we can suppose that the different sections/blocks could easily have been misplaced after their use. According to Or.158 fol. 1r, the *Vajrāmṛta* appears to be the first text in the list; at the same time, this text has a dated colophon, which one would rather expect to find attached to the last work of the manuscript. The possibility that, before the list was compiled, the *Vajrāmṛta* could have been the final work in the manuscript indeed cannot be ruled out. However, it should

<sup>18</sup> *Vajrāraṇitantra* (sic for *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja*) (rDo rje ā ra li źes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po), Tōh. 426, sDe dge bKa' 'gyur, vol. ŃA, fols 171r<sub>2</sub>–176r<sub>2</sub> (tr. by Kāyasthāpa Gayadhara and Śākya ye śes).

<sup>19</sup> On the right of the same *recto* folio, we find some mantras that were likely written by the same hand (it is possible that the last two lines, which cover the whole length of the folio, were instead written by a third hand).

<sup>20</sup> See Szántó's contribution in this volume.

be observed that independent, dated colophons for each work in a MTM are a common feature,<sup>21</sup> so it is also possible that the list of folio 1r is absolutely reliable.

Unfortunately, no leaves of the *Vajrāralitantra* have yet been found in the Cambridge University Library, but it is worth noticing that in another manuscript of the same collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, i.e. Add.1680, we find one leaf (item 12) of the *Rigyāralitantrarāja* (Tōh. 427), a work which is connected with the *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja* (support and ductus are the same as Or.158<sup>22</sup>), and that two more folios of the *Buddhakaṇḍa* from the same manuscript, now labelled as Or.158.2, are kept in another manuscript of the Cambridge University Library, namely Add.1680.13 (see Luo 2010, XLVIII).<sup>23</sup>

The scribe does not give any information about himself or the place where he worked, although we can hypothesise that the manuscript was produced in Nepal because the script has the typical characteristics of the manuscripts produced there between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century, such as the hook-shaped tops of the *aḥśaras*, the vowel *e* marked as a waved *śīrorekḥā*, etc. As has been briefly observed before, the copyist reports the date on which the *Vajrāmṛta* was completed, which, according to the verification made by Luo Hong, corresponds to Saturday, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1162 CE:<sup>24</sup>

*vajrāmṛtamahātātvaṃ buddhabodhiprasādhakam*  
i(O)ti || o || *samvat ā 80 2 aśvini śuklatrayodaśyām* || *śaṇiścaradine* ||

### 1.3 Stylistic features of the *Vajrāmṛta* text

Judging from the portion of the text that is currently available in Sanskrit, the language of the *Vajrāmṛta*, as far as morphology and syntax are concerned, falls squarely into that of many tantras. Typical forms of classical Sanskrit go hand in hand with Middle Indic forms, in particular with the language of the so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and of several non-Buddhist early tantric texts. We observe, for instance, several cases of the optative in *-e* (BHSG § 29.12) in the third person

<sup>21</sup> The practice of writing dated colophons for each of the sections of multiple-text manuscripts is not rare in Nepal, as is shown in De Simini 2016, 257–258, n. 61.

<sup>22</sup> A critical edition, diplomatic transcript, and English translation of Add.1680.12 is published by P.-D. Szántó in his contribution to this volume.

<sup>23</sup> That is, folio 13, which contains the end of chapter 4 and the beginning of chapter 5, and fol. 22, which contains chapters 8 (end), 9 (complete), 10 (beginning).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Luo 2010, XLVIII: '[I]ts copying was completed sometime on a Saturday (*śaṇiścaradine* [= *śanivāra*], the thirteenth day of the light fortnight in the month of *aśvini* [= *āśvina*] in 1162 CE (282+880)', and n. 47. Cf. also Sanderson 2009, 315.

singular: *visarjaye* instead of *visarjayed* (4.35c), *vinaśye* instead of *vinaśyet* (6.19a), *kampe* instead of *kampen* (11.2a), *bhakṣaye* instead of *bhakṣayed* (11.9c); and one case of the optative in *-yā* (BHSG § 29.42): *dadyā* instead of *dadyād* (6.13c).<sup>25</sup> There are several cases of the vocative feminine in *-ī* (BHSG § 10.41): *māmākī* for *māmaki* (8.13b, 10.18b, 11.6b, 11.8b, 11.17d), *devī* for *devi* (11.16d, 11.19c);<sup>26</sup> and one case of the agentive genitive (cf. also BHSG § 20.17), namely *me* for *mayā* (1.7d), even though the latter also occurs in classical Sanskrit.

It is worth noting the use of variant spellings of the same word, such as *vetāla* (10.1b, 10.15c, 10.18c) and *vetāḍa* (8.5c), although this is not a peculiarity of this text; the occasional adoption of the neuter instead of the masculine, such as in the case of the word *bali* (4.22ab); and the employment of the personal name Amṛta-kuṇḍali, as if belonging to the *i*-stems, instead of the more regular Amṛtakuṇḍalin (chapter 9).<sup>27</sup> We also register the irregular accusatives *mātrṃ* for *mātaraṃ*, and *duhitam* for *duhitāraṃ* (6.13cd).<sup>28</sup>

In one case (11.11ab) we find a nominative instead of a genitive: *vajrodakaṃ purīṣan tu ātmavidyā tu bhakṣayet* instead of *vajrodakaṃ purīṣaṃ tu ātmavidyāyā bhakṣayet*, which would be metrically incorrect. The commentary by Śrībhānu clarifies the right interpretation: *svavidyāyāḥ vajrodakaṃ vairocanaṃ ca [...] bhakṣayet* (fol. 33v<sub>3</sub>). In two cases we find unexpected verbal tenses or moods: the optative for a past in 7.1d; the imperfect for a present (or optative/future) in 10.15d.

Furthermore, we observe the use of morphological irregularities, such as the loss of case endings etc., in order to fit the metre. A few examples are: *vajrāmṛta namāmy aham* for *vajrāmṛtaṃ namāmy aham* (7.2–4, 6), *cāṇḍālī ḍombikā* for *cāṇḍālī ḍombikā* (8.7b); *śrīheruka namāmy aham* for *śrīherukaṃ namāmy aham* (8.9b); *dvaupada niyojayet* for *dvaupadaṃ niyojayet* (8.10d); *para{ma}ṃ samādhi-sam{ā}panno* for *para{ma}samādhisam{ā}panno* (11.2c); and *puna prcchati* for

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also Kiss 2015, 79.

<sup>26</sup> The instrumental *māmakyā*, apparently with the quite unusual value of vocative, probably *metri causa*, occurs in 3.15b (the Tibetan here has *mā ma kī* [D fol. 20r<sub>2</sub>], but Śrībhānu's commentary confirms the reading *māmakyā*: *māmakyeti sambodhane* [fol. 16v<sub>7</sub>]) and in 11.13a (see the text below).

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted, however, that Amṛtakuṇḍali instead of Amṛtakuṇḍalin is actually quite common in Buddhist tantric sources; cf. e.g. a verse from the [Guhyasamāja]vyākhyātantra cit. in *Pradīpoddyotana*, chapter 1 (*guhyapradeśe tiṣṭhati amṛtakuṇḍalis tathāgataḥ* ||, ed. p. 151) and the following words in Kumāracandra's *Pañjikā ad Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 4.10: *amṛtakuṇḍalis tu kalaśe uttareṇa sthāpyaḥ* (ed. p. 91).

<sup>28</sup> The form *duhitam* occurs for instance in *Brahmayāmala* 61.24c (*putram vā duhitam vāpi*), fol. 246v<sub>5</sub> [= fol. 247v according to the numbers in the right margin].



*punar prcchati* (11.2d).<sup>29</sup> Another instance could be *amṛtaṃ sādhanopāyaṃ* for *amṛtasādhanopāyaṃ* or even *amṛtasya sādhanopāyaṃ* (1.2c), both unmetrical; in this case, however, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that the compound *sādhanopāyaṃ* is used in apposition to *amṛtaṃ*.

The adoption of words that are peculiar to Buddhist Sanskrit could also be explained as an attempt to respect the metre, in particular °*devata*° (BHSD: 270) instead of °*devatā*° (4.26d) and *anopamam* (BHSD: 37) instead of *anupamam* (7.5b), as well as — at least in one case — the adoption of the singular ablative in -*ā*, which is again a peculiarity of Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. BHSG § 8.46): in stanza 9.9bc, where we read *amṛtā amṛtam utthitam | amṛtā amṛtayogena*, the omission of the *d* in the word *amṛtād* was likely meant to render the following initial *a* silent. However, we should observe that the ablative in -*ā* also occurs in stanzas 8.10–11, where there are no metrical problems. Again, very likely in order to respect the metre, in stanza 4.22a we find *herukā*° instead of *heruka*° and in stanza 7.3b the *kokilā*° instead of *kokila*°.

It is very likely that in a few cases — for instance in st. 8.6d (*śrīherukarūpam udvahet*) and st. 9.7a (*hasante kilikilāyante*) — the vowels *a* and *i* were intended to be silent or to be read quickly, a practice which is sometimes admitted, for instance by Ratnākaraśānti, who, while commenting upon *Khasamatantra* 5.1, points out that a quick pronunciation (*drutoccāraṇa*) of the word *abhāveṃ* allows the *mātras* to be reduced to four (*abhāveṃ iti drutoccāraṇāc caturmātraḥ*) (ed. p. 250). I have marked these cases with a breve (˘). In stanza 10.5b, we find an *i* that has to be considered long in pronunciation, and which I have conventionally rendered with *ī*.

Metrical irregularities remain, for instance, in stt. 1.10d, 4.27a, 4.31cd, 6.16b, 7.6a, 10.3c, 10.4, 10.5f, 10.11b, 10.15cd, 11.12b, 11.14d, 11.17a, 11.17c, and 11.18c.

Among the stylistic features that are visible in the portion of the text available in Sanskrit, we observe the use of *yadicchet* (or *yad icchet*) with the meaning of *yadicchet*<sup>30</sup> and the frequent use of *tu* as *pādapūraṇa* or mainly with the value of connective rather than that of oppositional particle (cf. e.g. 1.3c, 1.4a, 4.13d, 4.14bc, 6.6c, 11.11c), a feature that in any case is relatively common in Sanskrit and not exclusive to this text.

<sup>29</sup> Note that *puna* is a Middle Indic form, common for instance in Pāli.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 4.35a, 6.12b, 6.14a, 11.20d. This use is quite frequent in tantric texts (cf. e.g. *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* 3.3.7d and *Brahmayāmala* 3.226b). See also Kiss 2015, 209, n. 226.

## 1.4 Synopsis of the work<sup>31</sup>

According to a pattern that is common to many tantras, the text consists of a dialogue between a questioner and a/the Buddha or Bhagavān (in this work called Vajrin, Vajrāmṛta, and Mahāsukha), who imparts the teaching. Following a well-established scheme, which here is probably modelled after the Śaiva tantras, in this text the questioner is identified with the female consort of the Bhagavān instead of one of the Bodhisattvas, who are usually the recipients of the tantric teachings.

After a prose preamble that strictly resembles the *vijahārapāda* of the *Guhyasamājantra*, as well as the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* and the *Hevajratantra*, the first chapter (*Guhyamaṇḍalakaraṇābhīnayanirdeśa*) begins, in the fashion of the ‘explanatory tantras’ (*vyākhyātantra*), by stating that the actual teachings have already been imparted (2ab); the Goddess (*devī*) Māmakī then asks for insights on the means to achieve (*sādhana*) the supreme Nectar of the Vajra (*vajrāmṛta*), which is defined as ‘the knowledge concealed in all tantras’ (5a). This Nectar, corresponding to the ‘semen’ from which the three worlds arise, is said to be quickly achieved by means of amorous enjoyment, pleasure, sexual union, songs, music, dance, etc. (6). The practitioner is immediately freed from the chain of transmigration after having known the supreme Nectar of the meditation on the (*devatā*)yoga (8); this ‘great knowledge’ should not be revealed to the non-initiated (9a). The Nectar of the Vajra is produced by the unions of Vajra and Lotus. As the text instructs, the practitioner should kiss the Lotus, whereas Māmakī should kiss the Vajra (10). Māmakī then asks about the arrangement of the deities in the *maṇḍala*, as well as the way in which the *maṇḍala* should be worshipped, the nature of this worship, and the means of its realization (11–12). The answer of the Bhagavān starts with st. 14 and occupies the rest of the chapter. He states that, in this tantra, the *maṇḍala* is taught in order to realize the body, speech, and mind of Vajrāmṛta; in other words, the aim of teaching the *maṇḍala* is the attainment of the liberation from transmigration (14). Then follows a description of the *maṇḍala* (15, 18cd), along with a short description of Vajrāmṛta, which is hidden in the pericarp of the eight-petalled lotus and is endowed with three faces and six arms (16–18ab). Afterwards, the text describes the door-guardians (*dvārapāla*) (19) and the eight Wisdoms (*vidyā*) (Saumyā, Saumyavadanā, Candrī, Śaśinī, Śaśimaṇḍalā, Śaśilekhyā, Manojñā, Manohlādanakārī), which are located in the eight leaves of the lotus (20–22ab). The master, who is here identified with Vajrāmṛtamahāsukha, should accomplish, i.e.

<sup>31</sup> I prepared this synopsis on the basis of both the Tibetan translation of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* and the Sanskrit commentary by Śrībhānu. Words that are drawn from the commentary or, in a few cases, that are supplied by me to help the reader have been put between parentheses.

empower, the *maṇḍala*, that is the wheel of the goddesses, by means of music, dance and sexual enjoyment (23). The practitioner should worship the secret *maṇḍala* through the semen that is produced during sexual union with the *yoginīs* (Mother, Wife, Daughter, etc.) (24). Each female partner is connected to a different fruit (25–26ab). The practitioner should use his tongue to extract the semen that has fallen into the secret lotus of the *yoginīs* (26cd). The practitioner reaches perfection quickly, i.e. in this very life (27). During the practice of the *maṇḍala*, the five ambrosias (*pañcāmṛta*) (human flesh, blood, etc.) should be given to the disciple every day (most likely according to the procedures described in the last chapter of the tantra) (29). The practitioner is then able to perform all ritual actions, starting with subduing (*vaśya*). The chapter ends with the chapter rubric preceded by a metrical line that occurs at the end of all *nirdeśas* and represents a kind of “imprimatur” formula: ‘This was said by the Bhagavān, the Vajra-holder, the Great Pleasure of the Nectar of the Vajra’ (30).

The second chapter, called *Tattvayogajñānanirdeśa*, starts by describing the amorous play between Māmakī, who is satisfied with the teaching she has just received (1ab), and the Vajra-holder, who, full of passion, strongly embraces her, kisses her, penetrates her, makes love to her, arouses passion in her by means of gentle words, squeezes her breasts, etc. (1cd–5). Being satisfied in his turn, he is ready to give Māmakī whatever she desires (6–7ab). Stanza 7cd introduces the second question of Māmakī: she now wants to know how it is possible that the true nature of the Bhagavān, which is a transformation of the Bodhicitta, and which, being extremely subtle, is undecaying, ‘plays’, that is to say is active, in the world (8–9). The answer of the Bhagavān starts at stanza 10cd. He says that the knowledge that is connected with the manifestation and explanation of the (*devatā*)*yoga* is extremely subtle, secret, indestructible, etc.; it is devoid of any permanent object (*anitya*) (i.e. it shows that any permanent object is non-existent); it is without beginning, non-arisen, etc. (11–12). Beyond the reach of common beings’ understanding, this knowledge can be attained by means of the path of the (*devatā*)*yoga*, which is of two kinds, external and internal (13). The external yoga consists in the realization of the form, colour, and shape of the deity by means of the *utpattikrama* (14ab). The entire universe, including all the moving and unmoving entities that are in the three spheres of existence, is pervaded by one single nature, for everything is nothing but consciousness (*sarvaṃ vijñānam eva*) (14cd–15ab). Since the aggregate consciousness is totally based on itself, obfuscated people (like *naiyāyikas* who believe in the existence of the external world, made of discrete entities) do not attain awakening (15cd–16ab). Multiplicity of *dharma*s is not logically tenable. The water of the rivers is no more distinguishable when it enters the ocean; the *dharma*s are not distinguishable with respect to their unitary, true

nature (16cd–18). This nature can be obtained only through the direct teaching of the master, who explains the way it is present within the body (19). The Vajra-holder resides in the space that is in the middle of the Lotus, which is briefly described (20). The semen flows in the form of Nectar, being devoid of vowels and consonants, as well as of *bindu* and *nāda* (21). This is the substratum of all the elements (semen, bones, marrow, etc.), which pervades (the entire body) above and below (22ac). Stanzas 22d–26ab explain the way the Nectar is a pervader (*vyāpaka*) also by means of actions (seeing, hearing, etc.). Although the supreme, true nature (i.e. consciousness) has no form, it becomes endowed with many forms, assumes a gender, and becomes manifold in the same way that a jewel assumes different colours in accordance with the colours of the various objects that are nearby (26cd–28ab). Regarding this reality, there is no use for ordinary practices based on the muttering of mantras, breath control, fasting, etc. (28cd–29ab). After having worshipped the Lotus, the practitioner should eat the Nectar (29cd). In this way he realizes the true nature, the great pleasure of the Vajrāmṛta (30ab). The text goes on by referring to the channels (*nāḍī*) that have to be worshipped by the practitioner. The channel called Madāvahā is located in the pericarp of the lotus (30cd). It is the main channel in the middle of a group of 32 (31ab). The other nine channels, known here as Wisdoms (*vidyā*), have to be worshipped in their respective loci (i.e. in the nine doors of the body) (31cd–32ab). This supreme secret, which is called ‘yoga’, is not known by the Tathāgatas, such as Viśva (= Amoghasiddhi) and Vairocana (that is to say, they neither know nor have taught it) (32cd–34ab). It is due to the enjoyment of intense bliss that this yoga has been taught here by Vajrāmṛta to Māmakī after he had seen her secret lotus (i.e. after he had understood that she was the right receptacle of the Vajrāmṛta teaching) (34cd–35).

Chapter 3 (*Mantratpattinirdeśa*) starts with a further question from Māmakī. Delighted and adorned with bracelets (1), she gratifies and praises the Great Being with a song (2–3). With this song, the practitioner attains the awakening of the Buddha (4). After solving her previous doubts (5–6), now Māmakī wishes to know the origin of the *mudrās* (*samayamudrā* and so on) and the mantras of the *māṇḍaleyas* (7–8). The answer begins in stanza 9, where the Bhagavān states that the *mudrās* are of three kinds, based on body, speech, and mind (from which they arise or from which they are effected). Stanza 10 briefly lists and describes the three kinds of *mudrā*: *karamudrā* is connected with the body; *vāṇmudrā*, with the projection of the mantras, etc.; *cihnamudrā* (which includes *vajramudrā*, *ghaṇṭāmudrā*, etc.) is related to the mind. The practitioner should worship the auspicious deities’ lotuses, which are connected with (the *vajra*, i.e.) the source of all pleasures; he should also perform all ritual actions (the drawing of the *maṇḍala*, the *homa* ritual, etc.) by

means of the union of Vajra and Padma (11–12). In the same way that the wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*) is the source from which various desired fruits arise, so the channel called Madāvahā is the source of the deities, whose nature is the great pleasure, and of all mantras, the nature of which is the Bodhicitta (13–14). The following stanzas describe the extraction of the mantras: *oṃ haḥ vajrāmṛta svāhā*, *oṃ vajrāmṛtamahāsukhāya svāhā*, *oṃ ghī svāhā* (15–17); the eight mantras of the auspicious deities: *oṃ aṃ haḥ svāhā*, *oṃ uṃ haḥ svāhā*, etc. (18); the mantras of the door-guardians: *oṃ ṛ svāhā*, *oṃ ṛ̣ svāhā*, etc.; and the four mantras of Puṣpā, Dhūpā, etc., i.e. *oṃ ṛ̣ svāhā*, *oṃ ḷ̣ svāhā*, etc. (19–21). The practitioner should worship the secret *maṇḍala* with all worship rituals (i.e. both external and private) (22).

Chapter 4 (*Homavidhinirdeśa*) describes the *homa* ritual and the procedures of several magical rites (appeasement [*śāntika*], reinvigoration [*pauṣṭika*], etc.) as well as the *mantras* and *mudrās* connected with their execution. No question is asked by Māmākī, so the Bhagavān teaches all this without interruption from the previous section (1–3ab). The *maṇḍalācārya* (i.e. the *homācārya*, the master who celebrates the *homa* liturgy) should first identify himself with Vajrasattva; adorned with all embellishments and in the *ālīḍha* posture, he should then perform the Victory of the Three Worlds (*trailokyaviṣaya*) (i.e. he should identify himself with the Kro-dharāja deity) and eventually cleanse the ground (*bhūmisaṃśodhana*) (3cd–5): the practitioner should drive away the obstacles (*vighnotsāraṇa*), pay homage to the *guru*, and attract the Deity of the Earth (*prthivīdevatā*) (6). Stanzas 7–12 describe the *vāhanamantra*, the projection of the mantric syllables into the *cakras* of the body, the throwing of flowers and other rituals that are necessary for the purification of the ground. The following verses give the shapes and measurements of the *kuṇḍas* that are needed for the performance of various rituals: appeasement (13–14), reinvigoration (15), hostile purposes (*abhicāruka*) (16), subjugation (*vaśya*), and attraction (*ākaraṣaṇa*) (17). The mantra-user should begin the appeasement ritual while facing north; the reinvigoration ritual should always be performed while facing east, and the hostile purposes ritual while facing south; attraction, destruction (*uccāṭana*) and the other rituals always require facing west (18–19ab). The text briefly mentions the colours (19cd) and the kind of offerings connected with the rituals described above (20–21). All offerings must be given with the *herukamudrā*, and whatever the *yogin* desires is always attained (22). The practitioner should perform the appeasement ritual in autumn, the reinvigoration ritual in winter, the hostile purposes ritual in summer (23); appeasement should be done in the evening, reinvigoration at dawn, hostile purposes at noon or at midnight (24). Stanzas 25 to 39 provide several details about the *homa* ritual (the realization of one's deity by means of the syllable *hūṃ*, the meditation on this deity, the invocation of Agni, the offering of the sacred water, etc.) (25–28) and the mantras that have to be recited

during its performance, i.e. the mantra of the flower (29), the mantra of the lamp (30), the mantra of the incense (31), the mantra of the perfume (32), and also the mantra for the dismissal of the deity (36–37).

Chapter 5 (*Karmaprasaranirdeśa*) prescribes the way to produce the collyrium that is used for ritual purposes. The Bhagavān continues his teaching from the previous section. The collyrium is produced using human fat, lampblack, a skull, the head of an owl, human blood, etc. (1–3). It is used, together with a mantra that has to be recited ten thousand times, in order to neutralize demons, to destroy enemies, etc. (4–6). The mantra is given in stanza 7 (*hrīm hrīm hūm hūm aṃ aḥ a hā hām svāhā*). Afterwards, the text briefly describes the iconographical representation of Māmākī (8–9), the mantra that has to be recited after having filled the matrix of the woman with saffron (*oṃ ā i ū ṛ ī ai au aḥ amṛte phaṭ hūm haḥ svāhā*), the way its extraction has to be performed, etc. (10–11), as well as other rituals, such as the production of a *tilaka*, the intoxication of the enemies, and the recitation of the *yamāntakamantra* (*oṃ hrīḥ śṛīḥ vikṛtānana sarvaśatrūn vināśaya stambhaya mārāya hūm hūm phaṭ*) (12–15). The chapter ends with the description of the procedures for subduing the husband and thus making the wife happy (16–17ab), and the description of the ritual for killing the enemies (17cd–21).

In chapter 6, the *Vajrahūmkārasādhana*nirdeśa, the Bhagavān explains in brief the *sādhana* of Vajrahūmkāra, as well as the procedures for drawing the *maṇḍalas* of Vajrāmṛta, Heruka, and so on (1). The shape and the measures of the *vajrahūmkāramaṇḍala* are given in st. 2. Vajrahūmkāra, who has three faces and six arms, has to be placed in the centre of this *maṇḍala*, surrounded by a halo of trembling lights (3), embellished with ornaments, and encircled by four *mudrās* (Kelikilā, Vajrāstrā, Vajragarvā, Sparśavajrā) (4). The text continues with a list, sometimes accompanied by iconographical descriptions, of the objects and the deities that have to be drawn in the *maṇḍala*; the latter include Umā, the Vidyās (Puspā, Dhūpā, etc.), the door-guardians, and the eight Bodhisattvas (Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, etc.) (5–10). By making oblations to deities (*bali*), by making offerings of food to living beings (*balya*), and by drinking liquors and juices, on the eighth and fourteenth days of the black fortnight, the practitioner should throw (an animal) made of powdered grains into the *maṇḍala* and offer it ritually (11). After having performed the oblation in the middle (of the *maṇḍala*), if the practitioner desires the supreme perfection, i.e. if he wishes to realize Vajrahūmkāra, he should recite the mantra of one single syllable (i.e. the sound *hūm*) (12). Subsequently, he should worship the master; and for this purpose he should offer himself to him, as well as his kingdom, mother, sister, wife, and daughter (13). (After this worship) the mantra-user who desires the realization of one's self as one's own deity should assume the tantric pledges (*samaya*) of the disciples (14). The *maṇḍala* of Vajrasattva,

which is connected with (the teachings of) the *Vajrāmṛta(tāntra)*, is endowed with the five ambrosias (*pañcāmṛta*), and implies the destruction of all the bad destinies (15). The realization of the glorious Vajrahūmkāra is a transformation of the Bodhicitta (16). The practitioner should have playful and variegated sexual intercourse with his Wisdom (namely with a young girl of low caste who, in her turn, has the nature of the Goddess) (17ab). With his tongue, he should kiss her Lotus and extract the semen from it with his fingers (17cd–18). After having extracted (the semen), he should not dispel the energy or the fruit (of pleasure, which is the source of strength and health). He shall realize the Buddhahood, namely the ambrosia, which consists in the semen (and corresponds to the *apraṭiṣṭhitānirvāṇa*) (19–20ab).

Chapter 7 (*Geyanṛtyābhīṣekatattvāvabodhanirdeśa*) starts with a praise of Vajrāmṛta sung by Māmakī, who is still involved in the love play with him, while joining her hollowed palms in reverence (1–8). This song contains a description of Vajrāmṛta, who is defined as a hero encircled by other heroes, who is joined by the group of Mudrās (2); he emits a sound similar to that of *kokilas* and bees, he is good-looking, and he experiences the pleasure of love (3); he is omniscient and friendly towards all beings (4); his body hair is bristled; and he makes love to the 24 Great Wisdoms (Tārā, Vitārā, etc.) in all three spheres of existence (5–6). The praise ends with two Apabhraṃśa stanzas, which read: ‘You, dark like a petal of a blue water-lily, are the Tathāgata, the Vajra-holder. Oh Pleasure of Sexual Delight, love me! By means of that you accomplish [your] duty in the three worlds (7). You are empty, pure, the supreme stage, the unchanging Vajra, beginningless. The living being — either moving or unmoving — who meditates on you, how can he be born again in the *saṃsāra*?’ (8). The characteristics of the dance and its movements (*gatipracāra*) are described in stanzas 9 to 11. After the dance, Māmakī should kiss the Vajra, while the Bhagavān should kiss the Lotus. The female partner shows her secret parts and the worship begins (12). The meditation of the Nectar is described in stanzas 13 to 15. When the Wisdom remains motionless, the practitioner should begin the concentration on the Nectar (i.e., he should meditate on Madāvahā, which contains milk and is flowing after having unified all the other channels [*nāḍī*]). The practitioner meditates on the supreme reality, that is the Nectar in the form of *bindu* (i.e. the syllable *ha*) (13). In the middle of the sky, similar to the moon, there is the true nature of emptiness, which corresponds to Vajrasattva, the “Unsounded” Reality, and which is indestructible, subtle, etc. (14). Located inside the navel, in the hidden space of the pericarp, it flows in the form of semen, residing in the middle between the *bhaga* and the *liṅga* (15). (With reference to the five *skandhas*) it is called the vital breath of living beings, the aggregate *viññāna*; it is the Buddha, the Vajra-holder; (Brahmavādins, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas call it respectively) Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara (16). (With reference to the world of common experience) it

is the earth, the water, the fire, etc., everything that belongs to the three spheres of existence. It is the object on which the Bhagavān himself continuously meditates. In addition, he declares himself to have arisen from this reality (*tattva*) (in form of Vajrāmṛta) together with Māmākī (17). (The other deities) Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and so on, as well as the Bodhisattvas and the Tathāgatas, also (meditate on) this powerful reality, which consists of *jñeyas* (i.e. the *bhūmis*, *pāramitās*, etc.) and *jñāna* (i.e. a knowledge free from conceptualization and from the two [*advaya*], that is subject and object) (in order to realize their own nature, to reach the state of Vajrāmṛta, or to impart his teaching) (18). Believers of other traditions (Śaivas, Kālavādins, Puruṣavādins, Sāṃkhyas, Vaiṣṇavas, Haritantrayogins, Gaṇakas, etc.) conceive this deity in different ways, that is according to specific aspects, as the Autogenous (*svayambhu*), as Time (*kāla*), as the Creator (*karṭṛ*), etc. (19–22). This teaching must not be transmitted to wicked people, to those who do not observe the tantric pledges, to the nihilists, etc. It can be imparted only to one who is devoted to the master, who is well-disciplined, who has been initiated (*guhyamaṇḍalapraṇiṣṭa*, lit. ‘who has entered the secret *maṇḍala*’), etc. (23–24). To such a disciple, the master can impart the initiation that is performed by means of sexual union with the *mudrā* (25).

Chapter 8 (*Śriherukotpattinirdeśa*) contains the description of how to visualise Śriheruka. Māmākī now asks why the Bhagavān assumes a wrathful aspect (1). The text does not provide any direct answer to this question. The Bhagavān starts by displaying his wrathful aspect: he is surrounded by a garland of flames, fierce, dreadful, a cause of fear; he has eight arms, four faces, and is embellished with a garland of skulls; he bears skulls and a *khatvāṅga*, is shaved, is endowed with a Vajra and a garland made of intestines, is fierce, and is encircled by his eight Wisdoms (*vidyā*); he dwells in the great cemeteries, roars while reciting mantras and the sound *phet*, and plays with groups of demons, *vetālas*, and beings that abide in burning grounds (4–5). The great Vajra-holder should summon the Glorious form of Heruka, who is devouring the Devas together with Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (6). Then the text lists the eight Wisdoms: Sotkaṭā, Vikaṭā, Cāṇḍālī, Ḍombikā, Piṅgalā, Kulini, Ugrā, and Dāruṇī (7), expounds the words that the practitioner has to utter when he is pushed by these Wisdoms: ‘I honour the glorious Heruka who, endowed with fangs, is extremely terrific, who is adorned with a garland [made] of intestines, who is devouring the great meat [i.e. human flesh]’ (8–9ab), and describes the extraction of the mantra of Heruka: *om jvala jvala hūṃ phaṭ bhyo svāhā* (10–12). The chapter ends with a reference to the advantages that derive from the recitation of this mantra (13–14).

Chapter 9 (*Śrī-amṛtakuṇḍali-utpattinirdeśa*) begins with the visualisation of Amṛtakuṇḍalin: he has three faces and six arms, is fierce and appears black like the newly split antimony (1); he is surrounded by a garland of flames, he is cruel, and



he is endowed with reddish-brown eyes; he is crushing the Great Obstacle(s) under his feet; his fist is raised, holding a hatchet (2); with his left hands he holds a club, a *vajra* and a noose. His forefinger is threatening all evil beings. The practitioner should visualize a sword in his hand (3); afterwards, he should visualize the eight Wisdoms along with the door-guardians; eventually he should project the eight Wisdoms into the petals (4). The text continues with the list of the eight Wisdoms (*Amṛtā*, *Amṛtavajrā*, *Amṛtā*, *Amṛtalocanā*, *Aprameyā*, *Surūpā*, *Vāruṇā*, and *Sukhasādhanī*) and their description (5–7a). The last verses explain the extraction of the mantra *om amṛtakunḍali mā maṃ svāhā* (7b–8) and mention the advantages that derive from the meditation on *Amṛtakunḍalin* (stt. 10–11).

Chapter 10 (*Vetālasāadhananirdeśa*) teaches how to resuscitate a *vetāla*. The practitioner should perform this ritual on the eighth day in the dark half of any month or on the fourteenth day of a lunar fortnight, in a field or a place in which (for a distance of five *krośas*) there is but one landmark, or alternatively in a place where four roads meet, where there is an isolated tree, in a cemetery, on a river bank or on a mountain (1–2). The text lists the characteristics that should be possessed by the corpse (3–4) and the ritual actions that the practitioner should perform on it (5–6ab); then it briefly describes the *maṇḍala* that is required for this ritual, the Wisdoms (*Sotkaṭā*, *Vikaṭā*, etc.) (6cd–7), and the door-guardians (*Gokaṛṇa*, *Hastikaṛṇa*, *Sumukhya*, and *Durmuḥka*) that have to be drawn outside the *maṇḍala* (8–10). The following stanzas prescribe the way the *maṇḍala* should be worshipped (11–13). While the practitioner is reciting the great mantra of the glorious Heruka, the *vetāla* will emerge, emitting a deep sound and pronouncing a cry, filled with anger (14). At that point the mantra-user should not be afraid and should remember the glorious *heruka*(mantra) (15ab). The *vetāla*, once arisen, asks the practitioner to indicate his task: ‘Oh Great Hero, what is the action (to be performed)? Give me the command!’ (15cd–16ab). The *vetāla* will help him attain whatever he desires: a sword, a collyrium (for invisibility), the capacity of moving in the sky, etc. (16cd–18ab). The chapter ends by declaring that this ritual is the main *sādhana* for the accomplishment of the body, the speech, and the mind (of the deities); it confers happiness on the practitioners (18cd–19ab).

The core of chapter 11 (*Pañcāmṛtasāadhanopāyanirdeśa*) describes the fruits deriving from the ritual eating of semen, menstrual blood, human flesh, urine, and excrements, i.e. the five ambrosias mentioned at the beginning of the text (cf. 1.29). The Bhagavān is silent, absorbed in the supreme *samādhi* (1–2). Māmākī asks the means to attain the Subtle Vajra (*sūkṣmavajra*) (i.e., the unbeaten heart of *Vajrāmṛta*) that resides in the heart of all beings (3). The Bhagavān laughs and starts to teach (4). The practitioner should always (i.e. every day) enjoy the ‘true reality’ (*tattva*), that is the Nectar in form of semen (produced by the union of the male and female organs), which is connected with the five ambrosias (5). First of all, the practitioner should eat

the semen, which is the accomplisher (i.e. the purifier) of knowledge and knowable (6). Subsequently, he should accomplish the 'great blood' (= human blood) in order to bring to perfection body, speech, and mind. As a rule, this (menstrual ?) blood should be taken from a young girl, or from a woman belonging to one of the traditional *varṇas* (7). The one who enjoys human blood accomplishes all duties. He should eat the 'great flesh' (= human flesh), after having taken it in a cemetery from the corpse of one who has died violently (e.g. one who was killed in a war or executed by impalement or hanging). Eating these substances involves an increase of life and health; it confers pleasure as well as the awakening of the Buddhas (8–10). Then the practitioner should consume the urine and excrements of his own partner (*ātma-vidyā*) (11ab). Details about the production of the pills needed for this ritual and about this ritual itself are given in stanzas 11cd–15: the practitioner should prepare a subtle powder with the substances mentioned above, and he should 'meditate' (i.e. mix them) with human blood (11cd). This rite, which also includes the drinking of urine, should be done thrice every day: at dawn, in the evening and at noon (12). The body of the practitioner who practices this ritual every day will become free from sickness and old age (13), handsome, etc. (14). The practitioner is at the same time a *yogin* and the Omniscient One, endowed with the qualities of Vajrasattva, free from attachment and aversion, and free from covetousness and envy. For him, the means of realization (*sādhana*), which involves the great pleasure of Vajrāmṛta, becomes perfect (15). The last verses of the text extol the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (16–24). The entire Vajrayāna comes forth from it (16). This teaching has not been transmitted to others (not only common Buddhist practitioners, but not even those who have entered the *bhūmis*, i.e. the Bodhisattvas) (17). This is the supreme, delightful secret that resides in every being (i.e. this is the Bodhicitta that resides in form of pleasure in the matrix of the excellent women) (18). The *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is called Jewel of the Vajras (*vajracūḍāmaṇi*). The *yogin* should keep it well hidden; he should not even be confident in his ancestors (i.e. the Buddhas) and sons (i.e. the Bodhisattvas) (who have not 'entered the pledge' [*samayāpraviṣṭa*]) (19). The true teaching (*tattva*) of this tantra should be bestowed on one who desires the supreme awakening (*bodhi*)/perfection (*dīśas grub*), one (by whom the mantra is kept) extremely secret, on a hero, one who is devoted to his master, one who firmly observes the vows (20). The practitioner should realize this *Vajrāmṛtatantra* which is at the same time easy to be realized and extremely difficult to be attained. It is mild, it is a collection of the essence (of Buddha's qualities) and of knowledge (21). The practitioner who is initiated in the great *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is worshipped by Buddhas, by Bodhisattvas, and by everyone in this world (22). After having paid homage to him three times, they say to him: 'You are the Lord, the means of saving all beings from transmigration' (23). The great *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is a receptacle

(i.e. a great treasure). Therefore, the Vajra-holder (i.e. the heart of the Vajrāmṛta) in its subtle form has been fixed in the space of the Bhaga (24).

## 1.5 About this edition

As regards orthography and sandhi, this edition has to be considered ‘conservative’, as the peculiarities of the manuscript have usually been retained, including the alternation in the use of *ś* and *s* for the same word, such as e.g. *āsana* and *āśana*. The layout takes the metrical division of lines into account; verse numbers are inserted between parentheses; hiatuses are marked with hyphens; Apabhraṃśa verses are in italic. The chapter titles, which have been drawn from Śrībhānu’s commentary and verified against the Tibetan translation, are inserted between square brackets. Stanzas quoted from the indirect tradition have been included, for the sake of completeness, within double brackets (cf. chapters 3 to 4, 7).

Although many doubts remain, for instance in stt. 4.27 and 10.13, and about some words of the verses in Apabhraṃśa (7.7–8), where we find terms paralleled in the language of the *Paūmacariu* by Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva, cruces are used only in the most unsolvable cases.

## 1.6 Symbols and abbreviations

(0)	string hole
<...>	contain additions
.	illegible part of an <i>akṣara</i>
..	illegible <i>akṣara</i>
(...)	enclose numbers not present in the MS
[...]	enclose pagination and titles
[[...]]	enclose verses quoted from other sources, not present in Or.158.1
{...}	enclose words, <i>akṣaras</i> or <i>daṇḍas</i> that should likely be omitted
]	separates the accepted reading, emendations or conjectures from other readings
◆	separates the commentary on different lemmas within the same compound or series of words that are graphically connected
†...†	<i>cruces desperationis</i>
┌	<i>siddham</i> sign
❖	ornamental sign resembling a flower (perhaps a crossed- <i>vajra</i> )
<i>ac</i>	<i>ante correctionem</i>
MS	Or.158.1
<i>pc</i>	<i>post correctionem</i>
T	Tibetan

## 2 Text

[1v<sub>1</sub>] } namaḥ śrīvajrasatvāya ||

[Chapter 1 – *Guhyamaṇḍalakaraṇābhīnayanirdeśa*]

evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavā(O)n sarvatathāgatakāyavākci-  
tṭaḥṛdayavajrāmṛtaguhyapadmeṣu vijahāra ||  
krīḍate bhagavān vajrī māmakyā sahitaḥ<sup>32</sup> pure |  
pṛccha[1v<sub>2</sub>]te tatra sā devī rahasye tivyavasthitā<sup>33</sup> || (1)  
uktaṃ deva tvayā pūrvaṃ tantraṃ vajrāmṛ(O)tam paraṃ |  
amṛtaṃ sādhanopāyaṃ kathayasva mahāsukha || (2)  
ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ<sup>34</sup> |  
acintyaṃ avyayaṃ sūkṣmaṃ amo[1v<sub>3</sub>]ghañ ca nirindriyaṃ |  
paraṃ śāntaṃ viśuddhaṃ tu vajrāmṛtam udāhṛtaṃ ||<sup>35</sup> (3)  
tatas tu (O) bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtasamādhībhīḥ<sup>36</sup> |  
māmakyā rāgayuktena rahasyaṃ prakāṭikṛtaṃ ||<sup>37</sup> (4)  
gopitaṃ sarvatantreṣu jñānaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ paraṃ |  
ta[1v<sub>4</sub>]d ahaṃ kathayiṣyāmi gāḍhālīmgaṇacumbanaiḥ <|> (5)

32 *sahitaḥ* em. ] *sahite* MS

33 The Tibetan canonical translation (*gsaṅ chen źes bya cher gnas pa'i*) and the commentary by \*Guṇabhadra (cf. D, fol. 21r<sub>3-4</sub>; **gsaṅ chen źes bya ba źes pa ni | bde ba chen po gñis su med pa'i so so raṅ rig pa'i ye źes so || de la cher gnas pa źes te bde ba myoṅ ba'i bdag ñid ces pa'o** ||) confirm the odd reading *rahasye* 'tivyavasthitā' only in part (in fact *źes bya cher* seem to reflect a reading like *ity ati*<sup>9</sup> rather than 'tivyava<sup>9</sup>). Note that the commentary by Śrībhānu suggests a reading starting with *rahasye tu (rahasye tv ity anyabodhisa*[2r<sub>9</sub>]ttvādidevatāpagate **sthitā** satī | **tuśabdaḥ** satyarthe [corr. *satyārthe* ?], fol. 2r<sub>8-9</sub>), which however could be a secondary attempt (not necessarily of the commentator but perhaps of a previous copyist of the *mūla* text) to obtain a smoother text. One possible emendation, a kind of compromise that respects the evidence of Or.158.1, of Śrībhānu's commentary, and of the Tibetan translation (of the *mūla* text and of \*Guṇabhadra's commentary) could be *rahasye tv ity atisthitā* (the word *atisthitā* is in any case quite unusual, and one would expect at least the explanation of the *upasarga ati* in the commentaries); other possibilities are, for instance, *rahasye tv ity avasthitā* or *rahasye tu vyavasthitā*. A further possibility is to keep the text as it is (*rahasye ti vyavasthitā*) and to interpret *ti* as *iti*, or to divide the text differently (*rahasyeti vyavasthitā*) and interpret *rahasyā* as an adjective. Another possibility could be to interpret *rahasye* <'>ti as *ārśa* formulation for *atirahasye*.

34 *mahāsukhaḥ* | MS<sup>pc</sup> (cf. also below, 1.11b, 4.38d, 6.20d, 8.15d, 11.24b) | *mahāsukha* | MS<sup>ac</sup>

35 || MS<sup>pc</sup> || MS<sup>ac</sup>

36 *vajrāmṛtasamādhībhīḥ* MS | Śrībhānu's comm. suggests the reading *vajrāmṛtasamādhinā* (kim āhety āha — **vajrāmṛtasamādhinetyādi** | [...] **vajrāmṛtasamādhinā** kartṛbhūtena he-  
tubhūtena vā yad **rahasyaṃ** tattvaṃ tat **prakāṭikṛtaṃ** |, fol. 3r<sub>2,4</sub>)

37 || MS<sup>pc</sup> || MS<sup>ac</sup>

ratikrīḍāsamāyogair gī(O)tavādyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ<sup>38</sup> |  
 sidhyate acirād evaṃ<sup>39</sup> tantraṃ vajrāmṛtam paraṃ |  
 amṛtaṃ śukraṃ ity uktam tatprasūtaṃ<sup>40</sup> jagattrayaṃ<sup>41</sup> || (6)  
 tasyāhaṃ sādhanam<sup>42</sup> [1v<sub>5</sub>] vakṣye tvatpriyārthaṃ<sup>43</sup> varānane |<sup>44</sup>  
 kathayāmi samāseṇa tat me nigaditaṃ śrī(O)ṇu<sup>45</sup> <|>| (7)  
 sarvasatvāhitārthāya yogayogāmṛtaṃ<sup>46</sup> varaṃ<sup>47</sup> |  
 yaṃ jñātvā mucyate kṣipraṃ yogī saṃsārabandhanāt <|>| (8)  
 aprakāśyaṃ mahājñānaṃ siddhi[1v<sub>6</sub>]trailokyasādhanam<sup>48</sup> |  
 kāyavākccittasiddhyarthaṃ<sup>49</sup> sādhanānāṃ sukhāvaham <|>| (9)  
 vajrapadma(O)samāyogair vajrāmṛtasamudbhavaṃ |  
 cumbayed bhagapadmaṃ tu vajraṃ cumbayet māmakī || (10)  
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |  
 tadā<sup>50</sup> tu[fols 2–5 missing] [...]  
 [...]

38 Read °vādyā° ?

39 The commentary by Śrībhānu suggests a reading *sevyate acirād devi*: [...] **sevyate** | *ebhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ niṣpa[3v<sub>3</sub>]dyate* | *pratibhāśagocaro bhaved ity arthaḥ* | **acirād** iti cumbanādyanantaram | **devīti** sambodhane | *kiṃ sevyata ity āha* — **tantram** ityādi | (fol. 3v<sub>2-3</sub>). Although the reading *evaṃ* is confirmed by the Tibetan translation (*de ltar*), the locution *acirād eva* (sometimes in connection with the verb *sidhyati*) is frequent in Sanskrit literature. One could conjecture that the original reading *acirād eva* was subsequently misinterpreted as *acirā deva* (*acirā* and *acirād* are possible alternatives in this register of the Sanskrit language) and then as *acirā(d) devi/devī*, which is found in Śrībhānu's *pratīkas*.

40 *tatprasūtaṃ* em. (cf. above, introduction p. 413) | *tatprasūta*° MS

41 *jagattrayaṃ* em. (cf. above, introduction p. 413) | *jagattrayaṃ* MS (note, however, that this reading is attested in primary sources, although rarely [cf. e.g. *ad Śāradātīlakantra* 17.118, ed. p. 703], and could perhaps be retained)

42 *sādhnam* em. | *sādhnam ato* MS

43 *tvatpriyārthaṃ* em. (see next note) | *tvatpriyārthe* MS

44 Cf. the parallels in *Svacchandatantra* 5.2ab (ed. vol. 3, p. 2): *samāsāt kathayīṣyāmi tvatpriyārthaṃ varānane*, in the *Niśvāsakārikā* (transcript, pp. 361, 366, 582): *tad ahaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi tvatpriyārthaṃ varānane*, and in *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 339ab (ed. p. 83): *eṣa ekākṣaraḥ proktaḥ tvatpriyārthaṃ varānane*.

45 *śṛṇu* MS<sup>pc</sup> | *śṛṇuḥ* MS<sup>ac</sup>

46 *yogayogāmṛtaṃ* MS and Śrībhānu's comm. (**yogeti** devatāyogaḥ | *tasmīn api yogo bhāvanā tadarthaṃ amṛ[4r<sub>2</sub>]taṃ sāraṃ* |, fol. 4r<sub>1-2</sub>) | \**yogavajrāmṛtaṃ* T (*sbyor ba'i rdo rje bduḍ rtsi*) |

47 *varaṃ* MS | *paraṃ* is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm.

48 *siddhi*° MS | *siddhaṃ* is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**siddham** iti prakṛtisiddham, fol. 4r<sub>3</sub>)

49 °*arthaṃ* em. | °*artha*° MS

50 *tadā* MS | *tatas* Śrībhānu's comm.

[Chapter 2 – *Tattvayogajñānanirdeśa*]

[...]

[Chapter 3 – *Manotropattinirdeśa*]

[...]

[[svāhākāras tu māmakyāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyikaḥ | (20ab)]]<sup>51</sup>

[...]

[Chapter 4 – *Homavidhinirdeśa*]

[...]

[[<sup>52</sup>tatas tu vilikhen mantrī<sup>53</sup> homakuṇḍaṃ<sup>54</sup> pramāṇataḥ |  
śāntikaṃ vartulaṃ kāryaṃ hastamātraṃ tu sūtrayet || 13 ||  
ardhahastaṃ khaṇed bhūmau śvetaraṅgaṃ tu dāpayet |  
pārśvayos tu samālikhya cakrākāraṃ samantataḥ || 14 ||  
pauṣṭikaṃ tu dvihastakam ekahastaṃ tataḥ khanet |  
caturasraṃ samaṃtena lekhyāṃ ca pītagairikaiḥ<sup>55</sup> || 15 ||  
abhicārukaṃ<sup>56</sup> trikoṇaṃ tu viṃśatyaṅgulavistaram |  
khanitvā viṃśatyardhaṃ ca jvālāmālākulaṃ likhet || 16 ||  
ardhacandraṃ samālekhyāṃ vaśyākarṣaṇayos tathā |  
homakuṇḍaṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ diśābhāgaṃ<sup>57</sup> vinirdiśet || 17 ||  
uttarābhimukho bhūtvā mantrī śāntikaṃ ārabhet |  
pauṣṭikaṃ tu sadā pūrve abhicāraṃ tu dakṣiḥ]](6r<sub>1</sub>)ṇe | (18)

51 On this line see above, note 8 and Ōmi 2013, 150–149 [17–18].

52 Stanzas 13–21, 23–24 are quoted with some different readings in *Sādhanaṃālā* 180, pp. 368–370, introd. with the word *apare*. The same quote continues with the following stanzas, as if they belonged to the same source: *na hi homakarmaṇaḥ saṅkhyāṃ ye caiva vadanti ca | ta ācāryā mahāśāntā buddhaśāsanasaṃmatāḥ || rāgacetasaḥ tv anye ca dveṣiṇaḥ paradūṣakāḥ | garvitā mohayuktā te varjitā buddhaśāśane ||*

53 *mantrī* em. based on T (*sṅags pas*) ] *mantraṃ Sādhanaṃālā*

54 °*kuṇḍaṃ* em. ] °*kuṇḍa*° MS

55 °*gaurikaiḥ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu's comm. ] °*gaurikaiḥ Sādhanaṃālā*

56 *abhicārukaṃ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu's comm. ] *abhicārukaṃ Sādhanaṃālā*

57 *diśābhāgaṃ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu's comm. (*karmārthaṃ digvibhāgaṃ nirdeṣṭum āha — di[19v<sub>4</sub>]*śābhāgaṃ* ityādi | *diśābhāgaḥ suprasiddhaḥ ||*, fol. 19v<sub>3-4</sub>) ] *diśo bhāgaṃ Sādhanaṃālā**

paścime vaśyam evoktaṃ ākarṣaṇoccātanān tathā<sup>58</sup> |  
 ābhicārukaṃ sadā<sup>59</sup> (O) kṣṇaṃ pañcaramgeṇa<sup>60</sup> vaśyayoh | (19)  
 tilataṇḍulakṣireṇa<sup>61</sup> ghṛtena madhunā saha |  
 pañcāmṛtanyuktena<sup>62</sup> śāntike pauṣṭike<sup>63</sup> juhet<sup>64</sup> | (20)  
 samidhāni [6r<sub>2</sub>] ca sarvāṇi kṣiravṛkṣasugandhayoh |  
 bhakṣyaṇ nānāvidhaṃ<sup>65</sup> dadyāt baliṃ vā sarva(O)bhautikaṃ<sup>66</sup> | (21)  
 dātavyaṃ herukāmudrair baliṃ yat kiñcit sādhakaiḥ |  
 sidhyate<sup>67</sup> yogino nityaṃ yat kiñcit mana-īpsitaṃ<sup>68</sup> | (22)  
 śāntikaṃ śaratkāle tu<sup>69</sup> [6r<sub>3</sub>] hemante pauṣṭikan tathā |  
 grīṣme <'>bhicārukarmāṇi<sup>70</sup> kuryāt sarvāṇi sādhakāḥ<sup>71</sup> | (O) (23)  
 pradoṣe śāntikaṃ proktaṃ pratyūṣe pauṣṭikan tathā |  
 madhyāhne arddharātre vā prakuryād abhicārukaṃ {sadā}<sup>72</sup> | (24)  
 hūmkāreṇa tu niṣpādy kuṇḍama[6r<sub>4</sub>]dhye svadevatāṃ <|>  
 vaktraṃ prasāritaṃ<sup>73</sup> dhyātvā āhutiṃ tatra dāpayet | (25)  
 lakṣyaṃ<sup>74</sup> tu ā(O)hutiṃ dadyāt pratyakṣam agratam<sup>75</sup> bhavet |  
 prathāmam āvāhayed agniṃ<sup>76</sup> sarvadevatapūjitaṃ |

58 *paścime vaśyam evoktaṃ ākarṣaṇoccātanān tathā* MS T | *paścime tu sadā proktaṃ ākarṣoccātanādikam Sādhanamālā*

59 *sadā Sādhanamālā* T | *tadā* MS

60 °ramgeṇa em. ] °ramgena MS *Sādhanamālā*

61 °taṇḍulakṣireṇa *Sādhanamālā* ] °taṇḍulākṣireṇa MS

62 *pañcāmṛtanyuktena* MS ] *pañcāmṛtena yuktena Sādhanamālā*

63 *śāntike pauṣṭike* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*etāni samidhāni śāntike pauṣṭike juhuyāt*, fol. 19v<sub>9</sub>) ] *śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ* MS *Sādhanamālā*

64 *juhet* MS T ] *matam Sādhanamālā*

65 *bhakṣyaṇ nānāvidhaṃ* MS ] *bhakṣyaṇ nānāvidhiṃ Sādhanamālā*; *bhakṣair nānāvidhair* Śrībhānu's comm.

66 *sarvabhautikaṃ* MS Śrībhānu's comm. ] *sārvabhautikaṃ Sādhanamālā*

67 *sidhyate* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*tena kiṃ bhavatīty āha — sidhyata ityādi | evaṃ kṛte yogino manasepsitaṃ sidhyate sampadyate* ||, fol. 20r<sub>5</sub>) ] *sidhyante* MS

68 *mana-īpsitaṃ* MS ] *manasepsitaṃ* Śrībhānu's comm. (perhaps better)

69 The letters *tkāle t* are partly damaged (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *śaratkāle* 'śvinakārttikau, fol. 26r<sub>6</sub>).

70 'bhicāru° MS ] 'bhicāra° *Sādhanamālā*

71 *sādhakāḥ Sādhanamālā* ] *sādhakaiḥ* MS

72 *abhicārukaṃ sadā* MS (*contra metrum*, but *sadā* is represented in T) ] *abhicārakam Sādhanamālā*

73 *prasāritaṃ* em. ] *praśāritaṃ* MS

74 *lakṣyaṃ* MS ] *lakṣaṃ* Śrībhānu's comm. (equally possible)

75 *agratam* (T: *mdun du*) sic for *agrato* ?

76 *agniṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *agni* MS

divyamālākulaṃ raudraṃ buddhabodhiprasādhakaṃ | (26)

oṃ<sup>77</sup> [6r<sub>5</sub>]

ehy<sup>78</sup> ehi tvayāvaśyāgnau pratyakṣaṃ siddhidāyakaṃ |

trailokyapūjitaṃ raudraṃ bra(O)hmāviṣṇunamaskṛtaṃ |

gṛhītva tv<sup>79</sup> idaṃ arghaṇ ca pādyaṃ {ca} dravyaṃ<sup>80</sup> savajriṇaṃ | (27)

oṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā ||

arghan tu prathamam dadyāt paścā[6r<sub>6</sub>]t puṣpan nivedayet || (28)

oṃ

divyapuṣpaṃ suraktaṇ ca {} divyagandhasuśobhanaṃ |

pra(O)ticcha adya me puṣpa asmin saṃnihito bhava<sup>81</sup> |

puṣpamantraḥ || (29)

oṃ

dīpanaṃ jvalanaṃ<sup>82</sup> dīptaṃ durgatīnāṃ bhayāpahaṃ |

divyacakṣukarāṃ<sup>83</sup> dhanyāṃ [6v<sub>1</sub>] dīpaṃ asmai pratīcchati |

dīpamantraḥ || (30)

oṃ

candanaṇ ca sakarpūraṃ dīpasaugandhikaṃ<sup>84</sup> (O) śubhaṃ |

sāṃnidhyakaraṇaṃ<sup>85</sup> dhūpaṃ<sup>86</sup> asmai pratīcchatu | sannihito bhava<sup>87</sup> |

dhūpamantraḥ || (31)

oṃ

nānādivyasugandhaṇ ca nānākarpūra{vi}bhūṣitaṃ |

nā[6v<sub>2</sub>]nāhūmkārasambhūtaṃ idaṃ gandhaṃ<sup>88</sup> pratīcchatu || (32)

ādau pūjāvidhānan tu agnīkṛta(O)sunīścayaṃ |

paścād uccārayed vidyāṃ jāpya mantrasvadevatāṃ | (33)

geyanṛtyopahāreṇa kriḍayantam anekadhā |

gaṇaṃ<sup>89</sup> santoṣayet pūjā vi[6v<sub>3</sub>]dyāṃ<sup>90</sup> sādhaṃ eva ca | (34)

77 oṃ conj. supported by T and Śrībhānu's comm. ] damaged in MS

78 ehy damaged in MS

79 tv em. ] tu MS

80 dravyaṃ ] \*savyaṃ T (g.yon)

81 saṃnihito bhava em. ] sa vihito bhava MS

82 jvalanaṃ em. ] jvālanaṃ MS

83 divya° em. ] divyaṃ MS

84 °saugandhikaṃ em. ] °saugandhika° MS (contra metrum)

85 sāṃnidhya° em. ] sānidhya° MS

86 dhūpaṃ MS<sup>pc</sup> ] bhūpaṃ MS<sup>ac</sup>

87 bhava em. ] bhavaḥ MS

88 gandhaṃ em. ] gandha MS

89 gaṇaṃ em. ] gaṇa MS

90 vidyāṃ em. ] vidyā MS



yadicchet siddhim ātmānaṃ kāyavākcittasādhanaṃ |<sup>91</sup>  
 pūjya vi(O)sarjaye devaṃ agniṃ vajradharaṃ guruṃ | (35)  
 oṃ  
 agnaye<sup>92</sup> sādhitam karmaṃ sarvasatvasukhāvaham |  
 kāyavākcittasiddhyartham<sup>93</sup> devatānāṃ tu pālanam | (36)  
 ga[6v<sub>4</sub>]ccha<sup>94</sup> āgneya {su}saumyena śāntiṃ kuru mahādhara<sup>95</sup> |  
 sādhakānān tu sarveṣāṃ sthā(O)varāṇāñ ca jaṅgamaṃ |  
 mama puṇyaphalam bhotu mantrasiddhiprado bhavet || (37)  
 a ā | i ī | u ū ṛ ṝ | ē | e ai o au | aṃ aḥ | hūṃ [6v<sub>5</sub>] haḥ svāhā ||  
 ity āha bhagavān<sup>96</sup> vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ | (38)  
 sarvatathāga(O)takāyavākcittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ ||  
 vajrāmṛtamahātānte homavidhinirdeśo nāma caturthaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 5 – *Karmaprasaranirdeśa*]

uktaṃ homa[6v<sub>6</sub>]vidhānañ<sup>97</sup> ca aṃjanaṃ kathayāmi<sup>98</sup> te |  
 mahāmedena varttañ<sup>99</sup> ca kapāle gṛhna (O) kajjalaṃ |<|> (1)  
 ulūkasya śīraṃ<sup>100</sup> dagdhvā<sup>101</sup> mahāraktena bhāvayet |  
 niśāyān tu supiṣṭitvā<sup>102</sup> sūkṣmacūrṇāni kārayet |<|> (2)  
 gṛdhrapādān<sup>103</sup> atipūrya [fol. 7 missing] [...]

91 The same line occurs below: 6.14ab.

92 *agnaye* Śrībhānu's comm. (*sarvakarmasā*[21r<sub>6</sub>]*mānyavisarjanamantram āha* — *oṃ agnaye sādhitam karma sarvasattvasukhāvaham* ityādi |, fol. 21r<sub>5-6</sub>) | *agneya* MS

93 °*siddhya*° em. | °*sidhya*° MS<sup>pc</sup>; °*sādhya*° MS<sup>ac</sup>

94 The *akṣara ga* is damaged.

95 *mahādhara* em. | *mahādhara* MS

96 *bhagavān* em. (see also below, chapters 6, 8, 10–11) | *bhagavan* MS

97 *homa*° supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*adhunā karmaprasaram upakṣipann āha* — *uktaṃ homavidhānam* ityādi, fol. 28r<sub>7</sub>) | unclear (damaged) in the MS

98 *kathayāmi* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*te tava kathayāmi*, fol. 28r<sub>7</sub>) | *kathayiṣyāmi* MS (*contra metrum*)

99 Sic for *varttiṃ* ?

100 Sic for *śīro* (*śīraḥ*) ? See below, next note.

101 *dagdhvā* em. supported by T (*bsregs nas*) and Śrībhānu's comm. (*ata ulūkaśīro mastakaṃ dagdhvā mahāraktena bhāvayitvā* [...], fol. 21r<sub>9</sub>) | *dagdhā* MS

102 *supiṣṭitvā* em. supported by T (*btag nas*) | *supirhitvā* MS

103 *gṛdhrapādān* em. supported by T (*bya rgod rje ñar*) and Śrībhānu's comm. | *gradhrapādran* MS

[Chapter 6 – *Vajrahūmkārasādhanaṇirdeśa*]

[...]

<catu> [8r<sub>1</sub>]rbāhuṃ samālekhyam dvayor<sup>104</sup> bāhoḥ<sup>105</sup> kucagraham |  
 vidyās tu<sup>106</sup> trimukhā sarve dvāra(O)pālās<sup>107</sup> tathāṃkuśaḥ <|> (6)  
 puṣpadhūpaṃ tathā dīpaṃ gandhañ cāpi<sup>108</sup> samālikhet |  
 lāśyā mālyam tathā gītaṃ nṛtyam caiva tu ṣaḍbhujam <|> (7)  
 vaṃśe<sup>109</sup> caiva [8r<sub>2</sub>] samālekhyam sarvavīṇā makundayoḥ |  
 murāja vādyam tathā sarve samālekhyam (O) tu maṇḍale || (8)  
 vajrāmṛtamahātantre sthāpayed bhadraḥkalpikān<sup>110</sup> |  
 dvibhujam ekavaktran tu bhadraḥkalpikam eva ca <|> (9)  
 agrataḥ<sup>111</sup> sādhaḥkam likhet<sup>112</sup> [8r<sub>3</sub>] sarvāṃkārabhūṣitaṃ |  
 akṣasūtram<sup>113</sup> tathā vajram ghaṇṭāñ cāpi samālikhet (O) <|> (10)  
 balibalyopahāreṇa madyapānārasotsavaiḥ<sup>114</sup> <|>  
 kṛṣṇāṣṭamyam caturdaśyam pātayec cūrṇi<sup>115</sup> maṇḍale <|> (11)  
 caruṃ kṛtvā<sup>116</sup> tu madhye tu yadicchet siddhi[8r<sub>4</sub>]m uttamam |  
 sādhyed vajrahūmkāram mantraṃ<sup>117</sup> ekākṣaram vibhuṃ <|> (12)  
 ācārye pūjayet pa(O)ścād ātmānam rājyam eva ca |  
 mātṛm dadyā bhaginyām<sup>118</sup> tu bhāryām<sup>119</sup> duhitam eva ca <|> (13)  
 yadicchet siddhim ātmānam kāyavākittasādhanaṃ |<sup>120</sup>  
 sādha[8r<sub>5</sub>]nīyam<sup>121</sup> sadā mantrī trailokyoddharaṇam sadā || (14)

104 *dvayor* conj. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *dvitiye* MS

105 *bāhoḥ* em. ] *bāho* MS

106 *vidyās tu* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *vidyābhis* MS

107 *dvārapālās* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *dvārapālas* MS

108 *cāpi* em. ] *capi* MS

109 *vaṃśe* is partly damaged and not clearly readable.

110 *bhadraḥkalpikān* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *bhadram kalpitaṃ* MS

111 *agrataḥ* em. ] *agrata* MS

112 *likhet* conj. ] *likhy*. MS

113 *akṣasūtram* em. ] *akṣasūtra* MS

114 *madyapāna*<sup>o</sup> MS ] *madyamāṃsa*<sup>o</sup> is the reading suggested by Śrībhānu's comm.

115 *pātayec cūrṇi* (or *pātaye cūrṇi*) conj. (cf. T: *rdul tshon gdab*) ] *pātaye* MS (*contra metrum*)

116 *caruṃ kṛtvā* conj. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *hūmkāreṇa paṣuṃ piṣṭakamayam cchāgalaṃ mahiṣaṃ puruṣaṃ vā pātayitvā* [24r<sub>2</sub>] *caruṃ kuryāt* ], fol. 24r<sub>1-2</sub>) ] *carutvā* MS

117 *mantram* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *mantram ekākṣaram iti hūmkāram japet*, fol. 24r<sub>2</sub>) ] *mantra* MS

118 *bhaginyām* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *bhaginyā* MS<sup>ac</sup>

119 *bhāryām* em. ] *bhāryā* MS

120 The same line occurs above: 4.35ab.

121 *°nīyam* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *°nīya* MS<sup>ac</sup>

maṇḍalaṃ vajrasatvasya vajrāmṛta(O)vinirgataṃ |  
 pañcāmṛtasamāyuktaṃ sarvadurgatināśanaṃ <|> (15)  
 vajrācchaṭasamāyogaiḥ<sup>122</sup> śrīvajrahūmkārasādhanaṃ |  
 kathitaṃ yogayo[8r<sub>6</sub>]gināṃ<sup>123</sup> bodhicittavikurvaṇaṃ <|> (16)  
 kurvita maṇḍale kṛīḍāṃ<sup>124</sup> vidyayā<sup>125</sup> cāpy aneka(O)dhā |  
 bhagamadhye {tu} samāsvādyā vīro yo mantrasaṃsthitaḥ<sup>126</sup> <|> (17)  
 vaktreṇa cumbayet padmam amṛtaṃ śukram eva ca |  
 na tatra-m-uddharet sthāne ka[8v<sub>1</sub>]rasyāṅgulinaiva ca<sup>127</sup> <|> (18)  
 uddharitvā vinaśye tu na vīryan na ca vai phalaṃ |  
 uddhari(O)tvā mahāvidyā<sup>128</sup> cumbayitvā tu vajriṇaṃ <|> (19)  
 sidhyate tasya buddhatvam<sup>129</sup> amṛtaṃ śukrarūpiṇaṃ ||  
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsu[8v<sub>2</sub>]khaḥ || (20)  
 sarvatathāgatakāyavākittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāasukhaḥ | vajrāmṛ(O)tamahātāntre  
 vajrahūmkārasādhanaṇirdeśo nāma ṣaṣṭhaḥ || ||

[Chapter 7 – *Geyanṛtyābhīṣekatattvāboddhanirdeśa*]

tatas tu māmakī devī ratikṛīḍāvyavasthitā |  
 kṛtāṃjalina[8v<sub>3</sub>]maskārair idaṃ gītaṃ udāharet <|> (1)  
 asitābjavapur vīraṃ vīrair anyaiḥ<sup>130</sup> pari(O)vṛtaṃ |  
 mudrāgaṇasamāyuktaṃ vajrāmṛta namāmy aham<sup>131</sup> <|> (2)  
 śaraḍgagaṇasaṃprāptaṃ<sup>132</sup> kokilābhṛṅganāḍitaṃ <|>

122 °samāyogaiḥ em. ] °sāmāyogaiḥ MS

123 °yogināṃ em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] °yogināṃ MS (sic for °yogināṃ ? cf. T: *mal 'byor pa dan mal 'byor ma'i* || *byaṅ sems rnam par sprul par gsuṅs* ||, D 23r<sub>5-6</sub>)

124 kṛīḍāṃ em. ] kṛīḍā MS

125 vidyayā em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**kṛīḍām** iti suratakṛīḍām | vidyā prāg uktā caṇḍālādikanyā devatīrūpā tayā sa**hānekadhā** nānāvidhāṃ suratakṛīḍāṃ sampādayet sādhyed iti bhāvah ||, fol. 24v<sub>1</sub>) ] vidyāyā MS

126 vīro yo mantrasaṃsthitaḥ conj. (cf. T: *gaṅ dag dpa' bo śhags la gnas* ||, and Śrībhānu's comm.: **vīro** hakārātmakavajrāmṛtaṃ tatsthānavaktreṇa jihvayā sparśarāgāsvādanādikam kṛtvā [...], fol. 24v<sub>2</sub>) ] vīrāveyai mantrasaṃsthitā MS

127 karasyāṅgulinaiva ca conj. ] karābhyām aṅgulim eva ca MS (contra metrum)

128 Note that according to Śrībhānu this compound has to be interpreted as a vocative: **mahāvidyēti sambodhane** | (fol. 24v<sub>4</sub>).

129 buddhatvam em. ] buddhatvaṃ MS

130 vīrair anyair conj. ] vīramanyair MS

131 namāmy aham conj. (see below stt. 3–4, 6) ] namāmye MS

132 śaraḍ° em. ] śaraṇ MS; cf. T: *ston gyi nam mkha' dan 'dra ba*

subhagaṃ suratārūḍhaṃ<sup>133</sup> vajrāmṛ[8v<sub>4</sub>]ta namāmy ahaṃ || (3)  
 †sarvaṃ sarvā anārūpaṃ† sarvajñaṃ sarvasauhṛdaṃ |  
 samyagindriya(O)mārgēṇa vajrāmṛta namāmy ahaṃ || (4)  
 traidhātuka-m-aśeṣasya vajrāmṛtam anopamaṃ<sup>134</sup> |  
 caturviṃśanmahāvidyā<sup>135</sup> atirāgeṇa rāgayet <||> [8v<sub>5</sub>] (5)  
 samapulakitāṃgo<sup>136</sup> hi {sarvabuddhakṛtālayet |  
 sarvasiddhikaraḥ śrīmān}<sup>137</sup> (O) vajrāmṛta namāmy ahaṃ <||> (6)  
*dala nīluppara*<sup>138</sup> *sāman* †*tra*†† *tuhum* *tathāgatu vajju*<sup>139</sup> <||>  
*mahuṃ*<sup>140</sup> *aṇurāi* *suratasuha*<sup>141</sup> *jjeṃ*<sup>142</sup> *tihuāṇe*<sup>143</sup> *sāhasi* [8v<sub>6</sub>] *kajju* || (7)<sup>144</sup>  
*suṇṇa nirañjaṇa paramapadi*<sup>145</sup> *tuhum akkharu vajja aṇāi* <||>  
*jjo* †*pacche* (O) *etti*†† *sacarācara*<sup>146</sup> †*gaeti*†† *tuhum kau saṃsāra hojāi* || (8)<sup>147</sup>  
 anena gīyamānena vajranṛtyavikurvaṇaiḥ |  
 bhārati sāndhaki<sup>148</sup> caiva lu<sup>149</sup> [fol. 9 missing] [...] (9)  
 [...]

[[<sup>150</sup>tiṣṭhate nīscalaṃ vidyā amṛtaṃ dhyānam ārabhet |  
 dhyāyate paramaṃ tattvam amṛtaṃ bindurūpiṇam || (13)  
 khamadhye śāsisamkāśaṃ śūnyatattvam udāhṛtam |

133 *suratārūḍhaṃ* em. ] *suratārūṭaṃ* MS

134 *anopamaṃ* em. based on T (*dpe med*) and Śrībhānu's comm. (cf. BHSD p. 37) ] *anomayaṃ* MS

135 °viṃśan° em. ] °viṃśat° MS

136 °pulakitāṃgo em. ] °pulukitāṃge MS

137 The two *pādas* 6bc are not translated into Tibetan and are not commented on by Śrībhānu.

138 The syllable *da* is *post correctionem*; the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

139 *vajju* em. ] *vajja* MS

140 *mahuṃ* em. ] *muhum* MS

141 °*suha* em. ] °*subha* MS

142 *jjeṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**j***em* iti yena māmānurāgeṇa hetunā, fol. 25v<sub>2</sub>) ] *jjo* MS

143 *tihuāṇe* MS<sup>pc</sup> ] *tuhuāṇe* MS<sup>ac</sup>

144 Chāyā: *dalaṃ nīlotpalasya śyāmaḥ* [...] *tvam tathāgato vajrī* | *mām anurāgaya suratasukha yena tribhuvane sādhayasi kāryam* ||

145 °*padi* em. ] °*pati* MS

146 *sacarācara* em. ] *sacarāera* MS

147 Chāyā: *śūnyaṃ nirañjaṇaṃ paramapadaṃ tvam akṣaraṃ vajram anādi* | *yaḥ sacārācaraḥ* [...] *tvāṃ kathaṃ saṃsāre jāyate* ||

148 The letter *k* is not perfectly readable.

149 The syllable *lu* is hardly readable.

150 Stanzas 13 to 15 are quoted by Ratnākaraśānti in the *Guṇavatī*, ed. p. 18 (*ad Mahāmāyātantra* 1.21). Cf. also Ōmi 2013: 140 [27] and above, introduction, p. 413.

akṣayam avyayaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vajrasattvam anāhatam || (14)  
 nābhimadhye sthito devaḥ karṇikāgūḍhagocare |  
 sravate śukrarūpeṇa bhagalingāntare sthitaḥ || (15)]  
 [...]

[Chapter 8 – *Śriherukotpattinirdeśa*]

[...] [10r<sub>1</sub>]vṛtaṃ <|>| (4)  
 mahāśmaśānanilayaṃ mantrapheṭkāranāditaṃ<sup>151</sup> |  
 bhūtavetāḍasaṃ(O)ghaiś ca kriḍamānaṃ śmaśānakaiḥ <|>| (5)  
 tatas tu sendrakān devān brahmāviṣṇumaheśvarān |  
 bhakṣamānaṃ<sup>152</sup> mahāvajrī śriherukārū[10r<sub>2</sub>]pam udvahet <|>| (6)  
 sotkaṭa prathamā vidyā vikāṭa cāṇḍālī ḍombikā | (O)  
 piṅgalā kuliniḥ ugrā dāruṇī cāṣṭamī smṛtā<sup>153</sup> <|>| (7)  
 japyamānam idaṃ mantraṃ nṛtyamānā tu gāpayet |  
 daṃṣṭrotkaṭamahābhi[10r<sub>3</sub>]maṃ<sup>154</sup> antraśragdāmabhūṣitaṃ <|>| (8)  
 bhakṣamānaṃ mahāmānsaṃ śriheruka namāmy<sup>155</sup> a(O)haṃ<sup>156</sup> |  
 jāpyamantraṃ<sup>157</sup> pravakṣyāmi sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai <|>| (9)  
 ṛṭiyā ca ṛṭiyan tu saptamī ca caturthake |  
 saptamā ca ṛṭiyan tu [10r<sub>4</sub>] dvau<sup>158</sup> dvaupada niyojayet <|>| (10)  
 sakalaṃ tatvasaṃyuktaṃ phaṭkāreṇa vibhūṣi(O)taṃ |  
 ṣaṣṭhā<sup>159</sup> caturthakoddhṛtya saptamādyena āsanaṃ <|>| (11)  
 trayodaśasamākrāntam {antra} svāhāntaṃ mantraṃ uddharet |  
 ādau vairoca[10r<sub>5</sub>]naṃ dadyāt mūlamantraṃ tu heruke <|>| (12)  
 asyaiva mantrarājasya mātmyaṃ śṛ(O)ṇu māmaki |  
 sakṛjjaptaṇa mantreṇa trailokyan nāśayet kṣaṇāt <|>| (13)  
 traidhātukam aśeṣaṇ tu bhakṣayed aviśaṅkitaḥ |  
 sarvakā[10r<sub>6</sub>]maṃdadā hy eṣā śriherukasamo bhavet || (14)  
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrā(O)mṛtamahāsukhaḥ | (15)

151 °nāditaṃ MS (cf. *Kālikākulapañcaśatikā* 1.5d) ] em. °nādinam ?

152 bhakṣamānaṃ em. ] bhakṣāmānaṃ MS

153 smṛtā em. ] smṛtāḥ MS

154 daṃṣṭro° em. ] daṃṣtro° MS

155 namāmy MS<sup>pc</sup> ] ramāmy MS<sup>ac</sup>

156 Verses 8cd–9ab are quoted in *Sādhanaṃālā* 239 (*Mahāmāyāsādhana*), ed. vol. 2, p. 462.

157 jāpya° MS ] jāpa° is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm.

158 dvau em. ] dvo MS

159 ṣaṣṭhā em. ] ṣaṣṭhyā MS

sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ | vajrāmṛtamahātantre  
śrīherukotpatti[10v<sub>1</sub>]nirdeśo nāmāṣṭamaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 9 – Śrī-amṛtakunḍali-utpattinirdeśa]

athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi rūpam amṛtaku(O)ṇḍalī<sup>160</sup> |  
trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujam raudraṃ kṛṣṇabhinnāñjanaprabhaṃ <|> (1)  
jvālāmālākulaṃ caṇḍaṃ piṅgālākṣiṃ piṅgaloj<j>valaṃ <|>  
mahāvighnasamā[10v<sub>2</sub>]krāntaṃ paraśūdyatapāṇinaṃ<sup>161</sup> <|> (2)  
muṣalaṃ vajrapāśaṃ ca vāmahastena da(O)rjini<sup>162</sup> |  
tarjayaṃ sarvaduṣṭānāṃ pāṇau khaḍgaṃ tu bhāvayet <|> (3)  
vidyāṣṭakasaṃyuktaṃ dvārapālasamanvitaṃ |  
bhāvayed guhyapadmaṃ [10v<sub>3</sub>] tu vidyā<sup>163</sup> cāṣṭau dale nyaset <|> (4)  
amṛtā āmṛtavajrā ca amṛtā ā(O)mṛtalocanā |  
āprameyā ca surūpā ca vāruṇā sukhasādhani <|> (5)  
trimukhā ṣaḍbhujā sarve diśāsu vidiśāsu ca |  
paṃkajo[10v<sub>4</sub>]dyatapāṇinā  
nṛtyamānā ca te devyo viśvarūpadharapradāḥ<sup>164</sup> <|> (6)  
hasante (O) kilīlāyante mantrarājam anusmaret<sup>165</sup> |  
punar vairocanaṃ dadyāt tat padaṃ paripūrayet <|> (7)  
prathamā tu dvitīyaṃ tu śūnyam ā[10v<sub>5</sub>]śanasaṃyutaṃ |  
śūnyaṃ śūnyam<sup>166</sup> samākrāntaṃ<sup>167</sup> mantraṃ<sup>168</sup> svāhāntayojitaṃ <|> (8)  
atyanta(O)suratāyogaiḥ amṛtā āmṛtam utthitaṃ |

<sup>160</sup> According to Śrībhānu's commentary, this line runs more smoothly as follows: *athānyaṃ sampravakṣyāmi rūpam amṛtakunḍaleḥ* (cf. fol. 30v<sub>3</sub>). The form *amṛtakunḍaleḥ* for *amṛtakunḍalīnaḥ* is attested in for instance Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* (Kalaśādhivāsanavidhī). For the reading *athānyaṃ*, cf. also st. 10.1a.

<sup>161</sup> *paraśū°* em. supp. by T and by Śrībhānu's comm. (*dakṣiṇe paraśukhaḍgavajram | vāme tarjjanikāmuṣalapāśaṃ ca |*, fol. 30v<sub>6</sub>) ] *paruśo°* MS (usually *paraśa*, 'arrow', is not part of Amṛtakunḍalin's iconography, cf. Lokesh Chandra 2000, 325–328)

<sup>162</sup> *darjini* sic for *tarjani*

<sup>163</sup> *vidyā* sic for *vidyāś* ?

<sup>164</sup> *°pradāḥ* em. ] *°pradā* MS

<sup>165</sup> *anusmaret* MS ] read *samuddharet* ? Cf. T: *dbyuñ bar bya*

<sup>166</sup> *śūnyaṃ śūnyam* is also the reading supported by the commentarial literature (cf. Śrībhānu's *ṭīkā*, fol. 31r<sub>9</sub>; Vimalabhadra's comm. D, fol. 15r<sub>2-3</sub>; \*Guṇabhadra's comm. D, fol. 50v<sub>1-2</sub>). In the canonical translation we read *steñ pas steñ nas* (D) / *ston pas steñ nas* (P), which could reflect a reading like *śūnyopari*. However, it is likely that *steñ* (*ston* in P) is a transmissional error for *stoñ*.

<sup>167</sup> *samākrāntaṃ* em. ] *ākraṇtaṃ* MS

<sup>168</sup> *mantraṃ* em. ] *mantra* MS



aṣṭavidyāsamāyuktaṃ kapālai[11r<sub>5</sub>]r upaśobhitam | (7)  
 asravā tu kapālāni sarvāḥ<sup>184</sup> khaṭvāṅgadhārīṇyaḥ<sup>185</sup> |  
 trimukhā (O) raudrarūpās tu ṣaḍbhujāḥ<sup>186</sup> khaḍgapāṇayaḥ | (8)  
 bāhyato maṇḍalasyāsyā dvārapālān prakalpayet |  
 gokarṇṇo<sup>187</sup> hastikarṇṇaś ca sumukhyo [11r<sub>6</sub>] durmukhas tathā | (9)  
 pāśāṃkuśadharā raudrā vikaṭotkaṭabhīṣaṇāḥ |  
 dvibhujā (O) ekavaktrās tu puṣpapūjā samālikhet | (10)  
 vidyā sā tu vicitrāṇi maṇḍalapūja samālikhet |  
 tatas tu sādhamo viro<sup>188</sup> herukarū[11v<sub>1</sub>]pam udvahet | (11)  
 mahāśaṃkhair alaṃkṛtya kapālamālaśekharam |  
 ḍamārukam vāha(O)yet tatra nṛtyamānaḥ<sup>189</sup> puram višet | (12)  
 mantraiḥ †samudvahehas† tu phaṭkāram<sup>190</sup> tatra jāpayet<sup>191</sup> |  
 pūjayet maṇḍalam divyaṃ<sup>192</sup> mahāraktena prokṣayet<sup>193</sup> | [11v<sub>2</sub>] (13)  
 śrīherukamahāmantram japamānas tu sādhamo |  
 krodhāviṣṭan tu garjantaṃ<sup>194</sup> ve(O)tāḍo<sup>195</sup> rāvam uccaret<sup>196</sup> | (14)  
 {tasya} na bhetavyam tadā mantrī śrīherukam anusmaret <>  
 utthitatas tu vetālaḥ<sup>197</sup> sādhamo idam abravīt | (15)  
 kiṃ karmaṃ [11v<sub>3</sub>] tu mahāvira dehi {me} ājñāñ ca vajriṇaḥ |  
 khaḍgam añjana pātālam kheca(O)ratvaṃ jigīṣiṇaṃ<sup>198</sup> | (16)<sup>199</sup>  
 yad icchet sādhamasyāpi tat karmañ ca prasādhayet |  
 tatas tu sādhamo brūyāt yasya yat manasepsitaṃ<sup>200</sup> | (17)

184 *sarvāḥ* em. ] *sarve* MS

185 *°dhārīṇyaḥ* em. ] *°dhārīṇā* MS

186 *ṣaḍbhujāḥ* em. ] *ṣaḍbhujā* MS

187 *gokarṇṇo* em. ] *gokarṇṇam* MS

188 *viro* em. ] *vira* MS

189 *nṛtyamānaḥ* em. ] *nṛtyamāno* MS

190 Read *phaṭkāram* ? Cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *praviśya tatra caturdikṣu phaṭkāram dadyāt*, fol. 32v<sub>1</sub>.

191 *jāpayet* (or *dāpayet*) em. (Isaacson) ] *tāpayet* MS

192 *divyaṃ* em. ] *divya* MS

193 The letter *t* is partly broken.

194 Read *garjanto* ?

195 *vetāḍo* em. ] *vetāḍa* MS

196 *uccaret* em. supported by T (*sgrogs byed*) and Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*japamāneti sarśapais tādīyamāno vetālo rāvam uccaret*, fol. 32v<sub>1</sub>) ] *uddharet* MS

197 *vetālaḥ* em. ] *vetālam* MS

198 *jigīṣiṇaṃ* em. ] *jigīṣiṇaṃ* MS (the *anusvāra* is almost unreadable and could have been rubbed out)

199 Note that *pāda* 16d occurs several times in the *Brahmayāmala* (e.g. 11.76b, 74.188b).

200 *manasepsitaṃ* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *tato brūyād iti sādhamena manasepsitaṃ vak-tavyam*, fol. 32v<sub>3</sub>) ] *manepsitaṃ* MS



prasādha[11v<sub>4</sub>]yet <tat> sarvan tu mūlapadmā<sup>201</sup> tu māmakī |  
 vetālasādhanaṃ mukhyaṃ vajrāmṛtavini(O)rgataṃ | (18)  
 kāyavākcittasiddhyartham<sup>202</sup> sādhakānāṃ sukhāvaham ||  
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ <|> (19)  
 sarvatathāgatakāyavā[11v<sub>5</sub>]kcittavajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ <|> vajrāmṛtamahātāntre  
 vetālasādhano nāma (O) nirdeśo daśamaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 11 – *Pañcāmṛtasāadhanopāyanirdeśa*]

tatas tu bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |  
 vajrapadmasamāyogais tūṣṇībhūtvā vyavasthitaḥ <|> (1)  
 no[11v<sub>6</sub>]śvasen<sup>203</sup> na ca kāmpe na nirikṣen na ca bhāṣate |  
 paraṃ<sup>204</sup> samādhisam[ā]panno<sup>205</sup> mā(O)makī puna pṛcchati <|> (2)  
 bhagavan<sup>206</sup> sūkṣmavajraṃ<sup>207</sup> tu sarvasatvahr̥di sthitaṃ<sup>208</sup> |  
 kathaṃ kena prakāreṇa tat tatvam upalabhyate <|> (3)  
 tatas tu bhagavā[12r<sub>1</sub>]n<sup>209</sup> vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |  
 hasamāna<sup>210</sup> idaṃ vākyam netram udghāṭya cābravī(O)t || (4)  
 pūrvam tu<sup>211</sup> kathitaṃ tatvam amṛtaṃ śukrarūpiṇam |  
 svādayet sadā nityam pañcāmṛtasamanvitaṃ <|> (5)  
 ekaikasya tu mātṛmyam dravyāṇām<sup>212</sup> [12r<sub>2</sub>] śṛṇu māmakī |  
 prathamam prāśayec chakraṃ jñānajñeyaprasādhakaṃ<sup>213</sup> <|> (6)

<sup>201</sup> *mūlapadmā* is not clearly visible.

<sup>202</sup> °*siddhy*° em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *devatānāṃ kāyavākcittasiddhyartham*, fol. 32v<sub>4</sub>) ] °*sādh*° MS

<sup>203</sup> *nośvasen* em. ] *nośvasen* MS (the syllable *no* is partly broken)

<sup>204</sup> *paraṃ* em. (see next note) ] *paramaṃ* MS

<sup>205</sup> Note that the hypermetrical reading °*samāpanno* is confirmed by Śrībhānu's comm.: *asādhāraṇatvāt paraḥ samādhis taṃ samāpanno* [33r<sub>1</sub>] *viśayikṛtavān* |, fols 32v<sub>9</sub>-33r<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>206</sup> *bhagavan* em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*bhagavann iti sambodha*[33r<sub>2</sub>]ne, fol. 33r<sub>1-2</sub>) ] *bhagavān* MS

<sup>207</sup> *sūkṣma*° em. ] *sūkṣma*° MS

<sup>208</sup> *sthitam* em. ] *sthitaḥ* MS

<sup>209</sup> *bhagavān* em. ] *bhagan* MS

<sup>210</sup> *hasamāna* em. ] *hasamānam* MS

<sup>211</sup> *pūrvam tu* MS ] Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* supports the reading *pūrvam te* (*pūrvam* iti *prathamānirdeśe* | *te tava mayā kathitam*, fol. 33r<sub>4</sub>)

<sup>212</sup> *dravyāṇām* em. ] *dravyāṇā* MS (the edge of the folio is broken and it is possible that the *anusvāra* was originally present above the syllable *ṇā*)

<sup>213</sup> *jñānajñeya*° em. (see st. 10b below) ] *jñānajñeyam* MS ♦ *prasādhakaṃ* em. ] *prāsādhakaṃ* MS (*contra metrum*)

kāyavākci(O)ttasiddhyartham<sup>214</sup> mahāraktaṃ prasādhayet |  
 kanyāyās<sup>215</sup> tu sadā gṛhyaṃ<sup>216</sup> yasya tasya priyāpi vā <|> (7)  
 sarvakāryakaro hy eṣa mahāraktaṃ tu māma[12r<sub>3</sub>]ki |  
 haṭhamṛtyuvanaṃ<sup>217</sup> prāpya mahāmāṃsan<sup>218</sup> tu āharet || (8)  
 śūlam udbaddhakaṃ vāpi (O) raṇe vā yas tu ghātitaḥ |  
 bhakṣaye dṛḍhagāṃbhīra<sup>219</sup> āyurārogyavarddhanam <|> (9)  
 kāmadaṃ saukhyadaṃ caiva buddhabodhiprasādhakaṃ |  
 vajrasattva[12r<sub>4</sub>]m<sup>220</sup> ivāyuṣyaṃ sarvakāmaphalapradam <|> (10)  
 vajrodakaṃ puriṣan tu ātmavidyā tu bhakṣa(O)yet |  
 sūkṣmacūrṇaṃ {tu} tataḥ kṛtvā mahāraktena bhāvayet || (11)  
 pratyuṣe tu sadā kāryaṃ pradoṣe madhyāhne tathaiva ca<sup>221</sup> |  
 triṣkālaṃ bhakṣaye[12r<sub>5</sub>]d<sup>222</sup> yogī pibed vajrodakan tataḥ <|> (12)  
 dine dine tu māmakyā sādhyed yas tu sādhaḥ | (O)  
 nirvyādhi<sup>223</sup> tu bhavet kāyaṃ jarārogavināśanaṃ <|> (13)  
 saubhāgyaṃ suvapustejo<sup>224</sup> rājadvāre jayāvahaṃ<sup>225</sup> |  
 sarvakāmandadā hy eṣa<sup>226</sup> pravarata[12r<sub>6</sub>]tvan<sup>227</sup> tu prāpyate<sup>228</sup> <|> (14)  
 sa yogī sa ca sarvajño<sup>229</sup> vajrasatvaguṇair yutaḥ<sup>230</sup> |  
 rāgadveṣa(O)vinirmukto lobha-irṣyā ca varjitaṃ<sup>231</sup> |  
 sidhyate sādhanan tasya vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaṃ <|> (15)

214 °siddhyartham em. ] °sidhyartham MS

215 kanyāyās em. ] kanyāyā MS

216 gṛhyaṃ em. ] gṛhya MS

217 °vanam em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭīkā* (*haṭhena balena mṛtyuprāptānāṃ vanam* [33r<sub>9</sub>] *śmaśānaṃ*, fol. 33r<sub>8-9</sub>) ] °dhanam MS

218 mahāmāṃsan em. ] mahāmāṃnsan MS

219 °gāṃbhīra em. ] °gāṃbhīraṃ MS

220 vajrasattvam conj. based on T (*rdo rje sems dpa'*) ] vajras. .. m MS

221 The *akṣara* ca is partly broken.

222 bhakṣayed Śrībhānu's *ṭīkā* ] bhakṣ. .. d MS

223 Read *nirvyādhi* ?

224 °tejo em. ] °tejām MS

225 Cf. Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgasanġrahaḥ*, Uttarasthānam, 40.65b.

226 °dadā hy eṣā em. (cf. st. 8.14c) ] °dad. ... hy eṣām MS

227 The *akṣara* va is partly broken. Note that the hypermetrical reading *pravaratatvan* (vs *pravaratvan*) is apparently supported by T (*mchog rab de ṅid thob pa yin*).

228 The *akṣara* pya is partly broken.

229 sarvajño em. ] sarvajña MS

230 yutaḥ em. ] yutaṃ MS

231 Read *lobha-irṣyāvivarjitaḥ* ?

idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ bahvarthaṃ<sup>232</sup> gūḍhavikramaṃ | [12v<sub>1</sub>]  
 nikhilaṃ vajrayānasya<sup>233</sup> ato<sup>234</sup> devī vinirgataṃ <|>| (16)  
 kathitaṃ tatvan tu sadbhāvaṃ ati(O)rāgeṇa rāgitaṃ |  
 na mayā kasyacid ākhyātaṃ sthūlapadmaṃ tu māmaki <|>| (17)  
 idaṃ rahasyaṃ<sup>235</sup> paramaṃ rāmyaṃ sarvātmani {sadā}<sup>236</sup> sthitaṃ |  
 bodhi[12v<sub>2</sub>]satvena na<sup>237</sup> vijñātaṃ arūpyaṃ śūnyaṃ akṣaraṃ <|>| (18)  
 etat tantraṃ<sup>238</sup> mahāvidye vajracūḍā(O)maṇiḥ<sup>239</sup> smṛtaṃ |  
 guptan tu<sup>240</sup> dhārayed devī pitāputrair na viśvaset <|>| (19)  
 atyantagupte vīre ca gurubhakte dṛḍhavrata |  
 deyaṃ<sup>241</sup> tasya idaṃ ta[12v<sub>3</sub>]tvam yadicched<sup>242</sup> bodhim uttamaṃ <|>| (20)  
 idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ sukhasādhyaṃ<sup>243</sup> sudurlabhaṃ | (O)  
 sādhayet subhage saumyaṃ sārājñānasamuccayaṃ <|>| (21)  
 vajrāmṛtamahātāntre yo 'bhiṣiktaṃ<sup>244</sup> tu sādhaḥ |  
 buddhāś ca bodhisattvāś ca taṃ vai<sup>245</sup> [12v<sub>4</sub>] sarvo 'bhivandati <|>| (22)  
 namaskṛtvā tu triskālam ācāryaṃ<sup>246</sup> subhagottamaṃ |  
 tvam eva (O) sarvasatvānāṃ saṃsāroddharaṇaṃ prabhuḥ <|>| (23)  
 idam avod bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |  
 {sarvatathāgatakāyavākciṭṭava[12v<sub>5</sub>]jri<sup>247</sup> vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ }<sup>248</sup>

**232** *bahvarthaṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *bahvāttaṃ* MS (the reading of the *akṣaras ātta* is in any case uncertain)

**233** The *akṣara va* is partly broken

**234** *ato* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. ] *atra* MS

**235** *rahasyaṃ* em. (*bhavipulā*) ] *rahasya*° MS (*navipulā*)

**236** *sadā* is not rendered in T and is not commented in Śrībhānu's *ṭikā*.

**237** *bodhisattvena na vijñātaṃ* MS (*contra metrum*) ] *bodhisattvair avijñātaṃ* is the reading suggested by Śrībhānu's comm.

**238** *etat tantraṃ* Śrībhānu ] *eṣa tatva* MS; read *etat tattvaṃ* ? \**atha tattvaṃ* T (*de na de nīd*)

**239** °*maṇiḥ* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *vajrās tathāgatāḥ | teṣāṃ cūḍāmaṇiḥ | ratnabhūtatvād vajracūḍāmaṇir iti smṛtaṃ* |, fol. 34r<sub>5</sub>) ] °*maṇi* MS

**240** *guptan tu* MS ] *suguptaṃ* Śrībhānu

**241** The *akṣara yaṃ* is partly broken.

**242** Cf. above, n. 30.

**243** *sukhasādhyaṃ* em. ] *sukhasādhya* MS

**244** *yo 'bhiṣiktaṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*yo vajrāmṛtatantrābhiṣekavidhinābhiṣiktaḥ sarvācārya[34v<sub>3</sub>]tāṃ gataḥ*, fol. 34v<sub>3-4</sub>) ] *yoṣiktaṃ* MS (*contra metrum*)

**245** *taṃ vai* conj. (cf. T: *de la kun gyis phyag byed de*) ] *t. .* MS

**246** *ācāryaṃ* em. ] *ācārya* MS

**247** °*vajrī* em. ] °*va..* MS

**248** Note that in accord with the previous parallels (cf. the final rubrics of chapters 4, 6, 8–10), the commentary by Śrībhānu, and the Tibetan translation, this line should be shifted after st. 24, before the last sentence of the text.

vajrāmṛtamahātantaṃ nikṣepaṃ kathitaṃ priye (O) |  
 sūkṣmarūpaṃ tato vajri bhagākāṣe<sup>249</sup> vyavasthitaṃ <|>| (24)  
 <sarvatahāgatakāyāvākittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |> vajrāmṛtamahātantre  
 pañcāmṛtasādhanopāyo nāma nirdeśa<sup>250</sup> ekādaśa[12v<sub>6</sub>]maḥ<sup>251</sup> samāptaḥ<sup>252</sup> || ❖ ||

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<sup>249</sup> *vajri bhagākāṣe* em. based on Śrībhānu’s comm. (*na kevalaṃ tantraṃ samarpitaṃ api tu hṛdayaṃ api samarpitaṃ ity āha — sūkṣmam* ityādi | *nāḍīśuṣīrāṇurūpatvā*[34v<sub>3</sub>]t *sūkṣmam* | *vajrīti vajrāmṛtahṛdayaṃ* | *bhagākāṣe yad vyavasthitaṃ tad hṛdayasaṃsthitam iti bhāvaḥ* |, fol. 34v<sub>4-5</sub>) | *vajrī bhagākāre* MS

<sup>250</sup> *nirdeśa* em. | *nirdeśaṃ* MS

<sup>251</sup> *ekādaśamaḥ* em. | *tantraikādaśamaṃ* MS

<sup>252</sup> *samāptaḥ* em. | *samāptam* MS

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